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ALLAHABAD



UMESHAMISHRA COMMEMORATION VOLUME

VOL. II (PARTS 4 & 5)

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Dr. JAYAKANTA MISHRA, M.A., D.Phil.
Honorary Secretary, Ganganatha Jha Research Institute
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LITERATURE

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AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON SUNDARAPĀṆḌYA'S NĪTIDVIṢAṢṬIKĀ

By Ludwik Sternbach LL.D.*

ABBREVIATIONS

Bhś.	attributed to.
ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
AKM.	Abhand ungen fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft.
Any.	The Anyoktimuktāvatī of Haṁsavijayganisa. KM. 88.
ASS.	Anyoktyaṣṭaka-saṅgraha. Ed. by P. D. Trivedi: Bhāratīya Vidyā Series 11.
BhPr.	Bhojaprabandha of Ballāla....Pāṇḍuranga Jivāji ...Bombay, Śaka 1854. *Also*: Bhojaprabandha of Ballāladeva of Banaras Edited by Jagdishlal Shastri—Motilal Banarsidas...Patna, 1955.
Bhś.	Śatakatrayādi-subhāṣitasaṅgraha of Bhartṛhari... D. D. Kosambi. Singhi Jaina Granthamālā 23. Bombay, 1948.
BORI.	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
CNI I.	MS. No. 1518a (EGGELING 3990), Library of the India Office, London.
CPS.	Vṛddha-Cāṇakya. Ed. by Pt. Śri Rāma Śāstri. Calcutta, 1332 (1925).
Cr.	Cāṇakya-nīti-text-tradition by L. Sternbach, Vol. I Six versions of Cāṇakya's Collections of Maxims, Vol. II. The Ur-text. Vishveshvaranand Indological Series 27, 28, 29. Hoshiarpur, 1963—8.

* 8201 Britton Avenue, Elmhurst, N.Y. 11373.

CR.	Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version. See Cr.
CRB.	CR; MS. sansk. f. 15, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
CRBh I.	CR; MS. No. 347 of 1892–95, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Collection, Poona.
CRBh II.	CR; MS. No. 348 of 1892–95, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Collection, Poona.
CRC.	CR: Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra. Ed. by Pt. Īśvara Chandra Śāstri. Calcutta Oriental Series. Calcutta, No. 2.
DhN (P)	The Dhammanīti in Ancient Proverbs and maxims from Burmese Sources; or the Nīti Literature of Burma by J. GRAY. Truebner & Co., London, 1886 (Pali).
CRCa I.	CR; Ms. Add. 2525 in the University Library in Cambridge, England.
Dvi.	Nītidviṣaṣṭikā of Sundarapāṇḍya. Edited and published by R. Mārkaṇḍeya Śarma. Madras 1928.
GSL.	Gems from Sanskrit Literature. Compiled and translated by Dr. A. Sharma and Vid. E. V. Vīra Rāghavācharya. Sanskrit Academy Series 5. Osmania University, Hyderabad–1959.
H.	Hitopadeśa.
HJ.	*Hitopadeśa: The Sanskrit Text with a grammatical analysis alphabetically arranged* by F. Johnson; Second edition. Hartford-London 1864.
HC.	*Hitopadeśa.* Ed. by H. T. Colebrooke, Serampore, 1804.
HK.	*The Hitopadeśa of Nārāyaṇa.* Edited with a Sanskrit commentary and notes in English by M. R. Kale. Fifth edition. Bombay 1924.

HH. *The Hitopadeśa in the Sanskrita language.* London, Library East-India House, 1810.

HM. *The first book of the Hitopadeśa.* Edited by Max Müller. London 1865. The second, third and fourth books of the Hitopadeśa. Sanskrit text. Edited by Max Müller. London 1865.

HN. *Nārāyaṇa, Hitopadeśa, nach der nepalischen Handschrift N neu herausgegeben* von Heinrich Blatt. Berlin 1930.

HOS. Harvard Oriental Series. Cambridge Mass.

HP. *Hitopadeśa by Nārāyaṇa.* Edited by Peter Peterson. BSS 33. Bombay 1887.

HS. *Hitopadeśas, id est Institutio Salutaris. Textum codd. mss. collatis recensuerunt, interpretationem latinam et annotationes criticas adiecerunt* Augustus Guilelmus a Schlegel et Christianus Lassen. Pars. I: textum sanscriticum tenens. Pars. II: commentarium criticum tenens. Bonnae ad Rhenum 1831, typis regiis. Prostat apud Eduardum Weber, bibliopolam Bonnensem.

IS. *Indische Sprüche,* Sanskrit und Deutsch herausgegeben von O. Böhtlingk. Zweite vermehrte u. verbesserte Ausgabe. I—III. St. Petersburg, 1870—3.

JS. The *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa. Ed... .....by Embar Krishnamāchārya. Baroda, 1938. GOS. 82.

Kav. *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya.* A Sanskrit Anthology of Verses. Ed. by F. W. Thomas. Bibliosheca Indica 1309. (See SKV).

KM. *Kāvyamāla* Series. Nirṇaya Sāgar Press. Bombay.

KSH. *Kāvya-saṅgraha.* A Sanskrit Anthology. Ed. by Dr. J. Haeberlin. Calcutta, 1847.

LN (P). The Lokanīti in *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources; or the Nīti Literature of Burma* by J. Gray, London, Truebner & Co., 1886. (Pāli) and in JASB 47, Part I, Calcutta, 1878 p. 239 sqq.

MBh. *Mahābhārata*. MBh (Bh), critical edition BORI. Poona; MBh (R) third edition by C. Roy, Calcutta 1886–8; MBh (C) Edition Royal Asiatic Society, edition Calcutta, 1834–9.

MK. *Mādhavānala-kathā*. Ed. by P. E. Pavolini, IX Congress of Orientalists, London, I, p. 430–56 (MK (P)). ed. by H. Schöhl., Halle a.d.S., 1914 (MK (S)) and ed. by M. R. Majumdar. *Pariśiṣṭha* 1 (Mādhavānalākhyānam). Gaekwad Oriental Series 93 (pp. 342–379) (MK (GOS)).

NKy (B). *Nīti Kyan*. Translation of a Burmese Version of the Nīti Kyan, a Code of Ethics in Pāli (Burmese) JRAS 17 of 1860, p. 252 sqq.

P. *Pañcatantra*.

Pad. *Padyaracāna* of Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Aṅkolakara. KM. 89.

PD. "The *Pañcatantra* of Durgāsiṁha" by A. Veṅkatasubbiah, *Zeitschrift für Indologie u. Iranistik* 6.255 sqq.

PdP. Padma-purāṇa. Ed. by V. N. Maṇḍalīka. 4 Volumes. Ānanda S.S. Extra 1.

PdT. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī by Haribhāskara. Ed. by J. B. Chaudhuri. Calcutta 1941.

PM. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī by Haribhāskara. Ed. by J. (Meghavijaya), von J. Hertel. ZDMG. 57, p. 639 sqq.

PN. *Pañcatantra*. Nepāli text. (PS. LXXXIX, 100–26; PT. I. 117–35 and PRE 2. 192–258).

PP. "The *Pañchatantra.* A collection of Ancient Hindu Tales in the recension, called Pañcākhyānaka......of Pūrṇabhadra" by J. Hertel. HOS. 11-2. Cambridge, Mass., 1908—12.

Pr. Pt. Durga Prasāda, "Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche." JRAS, Bombay Branch, 16, 361.

PRE. *The Pañcatantra I—V.* The text in its oldest form Ed. ...by F. Edgerton. Poona, 1930. *Also*: *The Pañchatantra reconstructed*......by F. Edgerton I-II. AOS 2-3. New Haven, 1924.

PS. Das sūdliche *Pañcatantra.* Sanskrit Text der Recension β mit den Lasarten der besten HSs. der Recension α, hearausg. von J. Hertel; *Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. kön sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* XXIV. 5. Leipzig, 1906.

PSh. M. Haberlance. *Zur Geschichte des Pāñcatantra.* Test der Suedlicher Recension. SWA. 107. 397—476. (1884).

PT. Ueber das *Tantrākhyāyikā,* die Kaśmirische Rezension des *Pañcatantra* mit dem Texte der HS. Decc. Coll. VIII. 145, herausg. von J. Hertel.; *Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. kön. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* XXII. 5. Leipzig 1904. *Also*: The Pañchatantra. A collection of ancient Hindu Tales in its oldest Recension, the Kashmirian entitled Tantrākhyāyikā; the original Sanskrit text, *editio minor* ......(PTem) by J. Hertel; HOS. 14. Cambridge. Mass. 1915.

Pts. *Pañchatantra* (*textus simplicior*), Edited with notes by F. Kielhorn (I) and G. Bühler (II-V), Bombay Sanskrit Series 1, 3, 4. Bombay, 1891—6.

PtsK. *Pantschatantrum, sive quinquepartitum de moribus exponens*....Edidit....10. Godofr. Ludov. Kosegarten....Pars prima, textum sanscritum simpliciorem tenens. Bonnae ad Rhenum, 1848.

RJ. *Rājasika-jīvana of Gadadhara Bhaṭṭa*. Ed. by J. B. Chaudhuri. Calcutta, 1944.

PV The *Padyaveṇī* of Veṇīdatta. Ed. by J. B. Chaudhuri, Calcutta, 1944.

Sāh. *Sāhityadarpaṇa* by Visvanātha Kavirāja. Bibliotheca Indica 9.

Sama. *Samayocitapadyaratnamālikā* Haridas Sanskrit Series 165. *Also* Bombay, 1957.

ŚKDr. *Śabdakalpadruma*. I-V. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series; Work 93.

Skm. *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* of *Śrīdharadāsa*. Ed. by S. Ch. Banerji, Calcutta 1965 (Skm (B)). *Also* ed. by Mm. Pt. Rāmāvatara Śarmā. Punjab Oriental Series 15 Lahore 1933 (Skm (POS)).

SkV. *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* by Vidyākara. Ed. by D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale. HOS 42.

ŚP. *The Paddhati of Śārṅgadhara, a Sanskrit Anthology*. Edited by Peter Peterson......Vol. I. BSS. 37. Bombay, 1888.

SR. *Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra*. Enlarged and re-edited....by Nārayāṇa Rāma Āchārya Kāvyatīrtha. 8th edition, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1952.

SRB or SSB. *Subhāṣitasudhā ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra*. Compiled and annotated by Pt. Ś. Kaviratna. Śrī Veṅkateśvara Steam Press. Bombay, 1885.

SRHt. *Sūktiratnahāra* of Sūrya. Ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series CXLI, Srī Citrodayamañjari XXX. Trivandrum, 1938. V. G. Sant. 5th edition. Ahmedabad 1922.

SRK. *Subhāṣitaratnākara*. A collection of witty and epigrammatic sayings in Sanskrit. Compiled and edited....by Kṛṣṇa Śāstri Bhāṭavaḍekar. Bombay, 1872.

SRRU. *Saṁskṛta Suktiratnākara*. Ed. by Rāmajī Upadhyāya., 1959.

SRS. *Subhāṣitaratnasamuccaya* by K. R. Joglekar and V. G. Sant. 5th edition. Ahmedabad 1922.

SSg. *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha* with Gujaratī translation. Ed. by F.M. Paṇḍya. Bombay, 1885.

SSH. *Sūktiśatakam*. Ed. by H. Jhā, Haridas Sanskrit Series 263.

SSpr. *Sūkti-sudhā*. Ed. by R. Ś. Pālīvak. Svādhyāya-maṇḍala. Pāraḍī, 1963.

Subh. *Subhāṣitaratnārṇava*, as quoteed in IS.

SuM. *Subhāṣitamuktāvalī*. Ed. by R. N. Dandekar, University of Poona, 1962.

SWA. *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenshaften.*

VC. *Vikrama's Adventures, or the thirty-two tales of the throne*....Edited in four...recensions: Southern (VCsr.), Metrical (VCmr.), Brief (VCbr.), Jainistic (VCjr.); also sections from Vararuci's recension ....and translated into English......by Franklin Edgerton....2 vols. HOS, 26, 27. Cambridge, Mass, 1926.

Vet Die *Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā* in den Recensionen des Śivadāsa und eines Ungenannten mit kritischem Commentar. Herausgegeben von Heinrich Uhle. AKM. 8.1. Leipzig. *Also*: Vet. nach einer Handschrift von 1487 von H. Uhle. *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Kön. Sächs. Gesell. der Wiss., Philol. hist. Klasse* 66.1, 1914 MS.Hu[1]).

Vidy. *Vidyākarsahasra* by Vidyākara Misra. Allahabad University Publication. Sanskrit Series. Vol. II. Allahabad, 1942.

VP. *Padyataraṅgiṇī of Vrajanātha,* as quoted by N. A. Gore, Poona Orientalist, 11. 46–56.

VS. *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva, ed. by P. Peterson and Pt. Durgāprasāda. Bombay SS., Bombay, 1886.

ZDMG. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

1. In 1928 K. Mārkaṇḍeya Śarma published in Madras the Nīti-dviṣaṣṭikā of Sundarapāṇḍya containing 116 verses of which 115 are didactive verses and one is a closing verse. The booklet published by Mārkaṇḍeya Śarma contains also an annex (*anubandha*) of 33 additional didactic verses. All these verses with the exception of the closing one are written in *āryā*-metre. The edition of Dvi. was based on two MSS, one belonging to the Government Oriental MSS. Library Madras[1] and the other to the Government Library in Trivandrum.[2] On the basis of a third MS. in malayalam characters in the Adyar Library (XXI. Q. 8) and a fourth MS. in Grantha characters in the Adyar Library XXXIII. S. 28) M. G. Narahari in the *Adyar Library Bulletin* Vol. 10 pp. 133–138 and p. 263 respectively, published some additional verses to, and *variae lectiones* of, the Nīti-dviṣaṣṭikā published originally by Mārkaṇḍeya Śarma. In the Bhavan's Journal XIV. 1 (pp. 95-96) and XIV. 2 (pp. 23-4) a few verses of the Mārkaṇḍeya Śarma's edition were translated.

2. M. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi in the preface of the Dvi. edition considered that the author of Dvi.—Sundarapāṇḍya must have flourished before the sixth century A.D., that Arikeśarin mentioned in Sinnamanur Inscription of about 750 A.D. traced his descent from Sundarapāṇḍya, a great scholar; that our Sundarapāṇḍya must have been his ancestor, who have lived about 650 A.D.; that his work was extremely popular, since many verses of it were adopted in Sanskrit works or translated into vernaculars; that in view of the fact that many verses are found quoted in the Pañcatantra "whose composition falls earlier that 500 A.D." and that one verse was quoted in Janasrayi, composed about 600 A.D. prove that the author must have lived prior to the sixth century A.D. (In the Bhavan's Journal, where some of the verses of Sundarapāṇḍya were translated, the

1. See: ***Descriptive Catalogue, Madras Oriental Government MSS. Library,*** **Vol. XX, p. 8056, No. 12051.**

2. See: ***Descriptive Catalogue, Trivandrum Palace Library,*** **No. 1683.**

editor repeated that Sundarapāṇḍya lived in the 6th or 7th centuary A.D.).

3. The analysis of the verses, including those quoted in the Annex and edited by Mārkaṇḍeya Śarma, attached to this paper as Appendix I, does not support the findings of M. Rarmakṛṣṇa Kavi. The Nīti-dviṣaṣṭikā does not seem to be an original work, but a selection of various gnomic verses popular in Southern India and collected in one work, probably by a compilor called Sundarapāṇḍya who lived much later than the sixth century A.D. However, an author known as Sundarapāṇḍya was probably either a contemporary of the author of the Sūktiratnahāra who composed or compiled this *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* in the first half of the fourteenth century,[3] or lived sometime before the fourteenth century, may be, in the thirteenth century A.D.

Dvi. is a typical selection of gnomic verses collected from various sources, a kind of a *subhāṣita-saṁgraha,* a work very popular in India from the eleventh to the fourteenth or even sixteenth century. Various gnomic verses from the floating mass of oral tradition, were then collected in one work to which the compilor used to add his name as its author; in this case he has collected exclusively verses composed in *āryā*-metre, similarly, as did, for instance Govardhana in his Āryāsaptaśatī, or other. However, Sundarapāṇḍya, if one can believe in ascriptions of authorships of the author of the Sūktiratnahāra, was not only the author of *āryā*-verses but also of *anuṣṭubh-s* which were also ascribed to him in this work; they are included in Appendix II (verses 1, 2, 3, 5, 6); they are not quoted, even in the annex to Dvi. by the editor and publisher of Dvi. probably, because they were not written in *āryā*-metre. *Āryā* verses, particularly in Dvi. are highly artificial verses, not very well suited to Sanskrit poetry and are often more ingenious than poetical.

4. With the exception of the Sūktiratnahāra[4] which mentions Sundarapāṇḍya 49 times[5] as author of some of its verses, none of the other *Subhāṣitasaṁgraha-s* and particularly none of the early and

3. S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature,* Vol. I, p. 414; V. Raghavan, *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras,* Vol. XIII, pp. 293—306. (V. Raghavan considers that the Sūktiratnahāra was commposed cca 1200 A.D. p. 305).

4. M. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi mentions also the Sūktimuktāvalī of Kulaśekhara, but this work is unavailable to me and despite search could not be even traced.

5. See annex III.

most important *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s,* mentions Sundarapāṇḍya's name.

In particular, Sundarapāṇḍya is not mentioned in the Śarṅgadhara-paddhati, Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī, Jalhaṇa's Sūktīmuktāvalī, Subhāṣita-ratnakoṣa of Vidyākara, Sadukti-karṇāmṛta of Śrīdharadāsa, though some of the verses which occur in Dvi. are quoted in these *subhāṣitsasaṁgraha-s,* but either anonymously or over the names of other authors. Would Sundarapāṇḍya been a known author at the time of the compilation of these *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* at least one of the compilors of these *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* would have mentioned the name of Sundarapāṇḍya.

5. The *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* often ascribe the authorship of some verses found in Dvi. to Ravigupta. Many of these verses are in SRHt. ascribed to Sundarapāṇḍya; that is the case of verses: 68 in VS;[6] 107 in VS; and in the appendix: 13* in VS and SRRU; 22* in VS; 23* in VS; 31 in VS and SSB; 32 in VS and SSB.[7] In addition one verse (73) is ascribed to Sundarapāṇḍya in SRHt, to Ravigupta in ŚP, VS, JS, SRRU and SSB and to Vyāsapada in Skm,[8] some verses, although mentioned in Dvi., are ascribed in some *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* exclusively to Ravigupta e.g. 100 in VS and SRHt; 102 in VS;[9] 104 in JS; 108 in VS; 109 in VS; 109 in VS and SSB; 111 in VS; and 112 in VS. So we see that fourteen verses found in Dvi. are ascribed to Ravigupta.

The *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* ascribe also some of the verses found in Dvi. to Sundarapāṇḍya, in SRHt, queen Līlā in BhPr, Pañcatantra in SR (No. 16); Sundarapāṇḍya in SRHt and to Hitopadeśa in SR (no. 54 and 18*),[10] to Sundarapāṇḍya in SRHt and to Krīḍacandra in BhPr (No. 26*); and to Sundarapāṇḍya in SRHt and Gobhaṭa (or Śūci-Gobhaṭa) in ŚP, JS, SkV, Subhāṣitahārāvalī and SRRU (No. 30*).

Also some verses found in Dvi. are ascribed exclusively to other authors in some *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s.* That is the case of verses: 22 ascribed in BhPr to Krīḍacandra and in SRHt to Gāthākośa;[11]

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6. In SR ascribed to Bhartṛhari. In BhPr it is read by Kālidāsa.
7. In SR ascribed to H. It is probably originally a Hitopedeśa verse.
8. SR ascribed to Bhartṛhari.
9. In BhPr the verse is additionally ascribed to Sītā.
10. Both are probably Pañcatantra verses.
11. In SRHt it is quoted in Prakṛt.

31 ascribed in ŚP, SSB, JS to Kṣemendra;[12] 48 ascribed in SSB, SRHt to the Mahābhārata; 54 ascribed in SR to the Pañcatantra;[13] 58 ascribed in SRHt to Varāhamihira;[14] 63 ascribed in SRHt to Bhaṭṭa-Bāṇa; 105 ascribed in VS and SSB to Prakāśavarṣa and in SRHt to Capphaḷadeva; 113 ascribed in SRHt also to Capphaḷadeva; and 114 ascribed in VS, SSB and SRRU to Damodaragupta.[15]

In SRHt. twenty verses found in Dvi. are exclusively attributed to Sundarapāṇḍya viz. verses 6, 7, 19, 26, 33, 44, 49 and in the annex verses 12* to 17*, 19*, 21*, 24*, 25*, 27*, 28*, 29*, and 33*; all verses in the annex beginning from verse 12* were taken by the author from SRHt.

We see that in addition to the ascription of a number of verses of Dvi. to Sundarapāṇḍya the *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* ascribe some of the verses of Dvi. to such authors as Ravigupta in the first place, as well as to Krīḍacandra, Kṣemendra, Gobhaṭa, Capphaḷadeva, Damodaragupta, Prakāśavarṣa, Bāṇa, Varāhamihira[16] and to such works as Gāthākośa, Pañcatantra, Mahābhārata and Hitopadeśa.[17]

The fact that the most important *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* do not mention the name of Sundarapāṇḍya and ascribe a number of verses found in Dvi. to authors other than Sundarapāṇḍya prove at least that Sundapāṇḍya was not known to them, that he was not famous and that, probably, did not exist yet when these *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* were composed. The fact that SRHt, a South Indian *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* mentions Sundarapāṇḍya by name may only prove that in southern India his name was known as an author of some gnomic verses, but not that a work, called Nītidviṣaṣṭikā, composed by Sundarapāṇḍya existed at that time; only 7 verses from Dvi. proper are

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12. Not found in any printed texts of Kṣemendra's works.

13. It is probably a Pañcatantra verse.

14. Not found in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā.

15. In the Śambhalimataṁ.

16. V. Raghavan in his Sūktiratnahāra (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XIII, p. 304) mentions that verses found over the name of Sundarapāṇḍya are found in VS. over the names of Prakāśavarṣa Argaṭa and Ravigupta. This statement was repeated in S. N. Dasgupta's and De's *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, p. 400, fn. 3. Despite thorough search I could not find the name of Argaṭa among the verses ascribed to Sundarapāṇḍya. Argaṭa was quoted as the author of some verses ascribed also to Ravigupta but not Sundarapāṇḍya (VS 2854 and 2866).

17. In many cases some *subhāṣita-saṁgraha's* ascribed some verses to other *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s;* these ascriptions were not taken into consideration here.

found in SRHt, while additionally 13 verses which are not found in Dvi. were ascribed in SRHṭ to Sundarapāṇḍya.

6. The analysis of the verses quoted in Dvi. and given below in Appendix I show that 26 verses of Dvi. occur also in primary sources; they are from the *kathā* literature; the Pāñcatantra, the Hitopadeśa, the Vikramacarita, the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā, the Mādhavānalakathā, as well as the Vimalapraśnottararatnamālā, the Cāṇakya's aphorisms, the Bhartṛhari's *śataka's,* the Padma-purāṇa, the Bhojaprabandha, Damodaragupta's Śambhalimatam and the Vānarāṣṭaka. This list shows that many Sanskrit works, composed between the sixth and the end of the sixteenth century contain verses, included in Dvi.

7. M. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi in his Preface to Dvi. draws the conclusion that since some of the Dvi.'s verses were also found in the Pañcatantra and "the composition of the Pañcatantra falls earlier than 500 A.D." Dvi. must have been composed before the sixth century. This conclusion is wrong. There is no proof at all that the Pañcatantra or any other of the primary sources mentioned above, borrowed from Dvi. and that not Dvi. borrowed from these sources, nor did M. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi adduce any proof that the Pañcatantra verses quoted in Dvi. were from the earlier versions of the Pañcatantra which could belong to the sixth century A.D.

The first version of the Pañcatantra was based on an unexisting today text which was translated by the physician Burzōe under the patronage of the Sessanian King Chosrōes Anūshīrwān into Pehlevi, probably by 570 A.D. This text is lost but its content is known to us from an Old Syriac and an old Arabic translation. Out of twelve verses of Dvi. which occur also in the Pañcatantra only two verses, viz. 54 and 20* appear in the Old Syriac or Old Syriac and Old Arabic texts. Only these two verses, therefore, could have been known as early as the sixth century A.D. In addition one verse (99) belongs to the oldest version of the Pañcatantra—the Tantrākhyāyikā version usually considered as belonging to the late sixth century A.D. However all the other Pañcatantra verses identical with Dvi. verses are from the versions which were composed later. These are the Southern and Nepalese versions, probably from the seventh century (verses 16, 103, 18 and 27*) and the much younger offshoot versions of the Tantrākhāyikā—the *textus ornatior* of the Jaina monk Purṇabhadra of the end of the twelfth century A.D. or the *textus*

simplicior probably of the same time, but possibly composed between the ninth and twelth century. A.D.[18] (verses 4, 26, 30, 31 and 19*).

Since it is generally accepted that the Hitopadeśa was based on the Southern Pañcatantra, it is easy to understand that some of the verses of Dvi. which occur in the Southern Pañcatantra appear also in the Hitopadeśa; that is the case of verses 103, 18* and 27*; in addition verse 33* also appears in the Hitopadeśa. The latter verse was also included, probably from the Hitopadeśa, in the Vānarāṣṭaka.

All the verses which appear in Dvi. and the Vikramacarita are Pañcatantra verses (99 and 20* from the Tantrākhyāyikā version; and 103 from the Southern version). The same is also true for the Dvi. and Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā verse (20* from the Tantrākhyāyikā version).

Of the three verses which occur in Dvi. and Mādhavānalakathā two are from the Southern version of the Pāñcatantra (16 and 103; the latter occurs also in the Hitopedeśa).

8. It is very interesting to note that one verse in Dvi. occurs also in the Praśnottara-ratna-mālā (33). The Sanskrit versions of the Praśnottara-ratna-mālā, containing 68 verses, was probably composed in the 9th century A.D. In the tenth or eleventh century A.D. the Praśnottara-ratna-mālā was translated into Tibetan and included, as one of the eight *nīti*-works, in the Tibetan Tanjur; this text has only 23 verses, but the verse in Dvi. from the Praśnottara-ratna-mālā is found in both versions—the Sanskrit version (verse 16) and the Tibetan version (verse 13). That proves that this verse was very common in India. This verse, ascribed to Sundarapāṇḍya, belongs to the Praśnottara-ratna-mālā proper and was borrowed from there, the form and style of short questions and short answers leaves no doubt that it is a genuine Praśnottara-ratna-mālā verse; it is therefore clear that Sundarapāṇḍya had to borrow from the Praśnottara-ratna-mālā and not vice-versa and consequently that Sundarapāṇḍya could not have lived before the tenth century A.D. and that some of these verses were not composed by him, but borrowed from other sources.

9. Verse 108 of Dvi. is also not a genuine Sundarapāṇḍya's verse; it was borrowed from Cāṇakya's collection of verses and in

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18. Cf. L. Sternbach, *The* Kāvya *Portions in the* Kathā *Literature*, paras 5–8.

particular, one of its older and genuine versions, viz. the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version, which was prevalent in India probably in the tenth century A.D. This verse is found in seven different texts of Cāṇakya's verses, viz. in CRC (3.39) and CPS (6.129), and MSS. CRP (3.40), CRB (3.42), CRBh. I (3.40), CRBh II (3.45) and CRCa I (3.32); it must be however noted that this verse was not included in the Tibetan Cāṇakya text, or in the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa, though a great part of the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version was included in the Tibetan *Tsa-na-taḥi rgyal-poḥi lugs-kyi bstan-bcos* and in the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa.

Verse 73 of Dvi. appears also in a text of Canakya's aphorisms; however that is a single text of the Caṇakya-nīti-śāstra version (CNI I 126) and was probably incorporated in that text from the floating mass of oral tradition, similarly as by the compilor of Dvi. The same verse appears also in the Padma-purāṇa and Bhartṛhari's *śataka-s*. However, it is a stray verse of Bhartṛhari and there is reason to suspect the originality of it. The same refers to the two other verses contained in BhŚ and Dvi. viz. 68 and 18*. The first occurs also in Bhojaprabandha and the second also in the Hitopedaśa.

10. It is also difficult to draw any conclusions from the fact that six verses of Dvi. (viz. 16, 22, 48, 68, 133 26*) occur also in the Bhojaprabandha composed probably at the end of the sixteenth century. This work is also a collection of wise sayings from various sources and Ballāla could have used Sundarapāṇḍya's verses, as Sundarapāṇḍya's could have used Ballāla's verses. However most probably both have used independently in Dvi. and in BhPr. respectively sententious verses from the floating mass of oral tradition.

11. Finally one verse (114) is also found in Śaṁbhablīmātam of Damodaragupta who lived in the ninth century; unfortunately I had no access to this work and based myself only Peterson's note to VS 234 and his mention of Damodaragupta's work in the *Second Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle for* 1883-84 (pp. 23—33) where the verse in question is not quoted. I also did not have access to the Janasrayi mentioned on p. XII of the Preface of M. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi.

12. However, the analysis of the verses of Dvi. which could be found in other primary or secondary sources and included in Appendix I seem to show that Dvi. was a typical work of compila-

tion of younger origin ascribed to a Sundarāpāṇḍya who does not need to be the same Sundarapāṇḍya who was mentioned in the Sūktiratnahāra and could not be the Sundarapāṇḍya of the Sinnamanur Inscription, since he could not have lived before the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century A.D.

13. Three appendices are attached to this paper.

Appendix I gives an analysis of the Dvi. verses found in other sources. First the number of the verse of Dvi. and its first *pāda* are quoted; under (अ) and (आ) primary and secondary sources respectively in which the Dvi. verse also appear are given; in (इ) the ascription of authorship referred to in secondary sources are mentioned; and in (ई) variants from the Dvi. text are cited.

Appendix II gives six additional verses which are ascribed to Sundarapāṇḍya in SRHt, but are not included in Dvi., probably because they were not composed in *āryā*-metre or were composed in corrupt *āryā*-metre,

Appendix III gives in two columns a correlation of verses ascribed in SRHt to Sundarapāṇḍya and found in Dvi., or in annex II.

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19. While (ई) in verse 63 shows that the reading of Dvi. is better in *bd* than of SRHt, it shows also that in verse 31 the reading of ŚP is better than of Dvi. Also the readings of verse 100 *d* of VS, SR and SSB and verse 107 *ab* of VS is better than that of Dvi. Verse 113 is wrong in Dvi. SRHt and VS; it transposes *ab* and *cd;* it is correctly quoted in ŚP, PdT, SuM, RJ, PV, SR, SSB, SRK, Any ASS, VP, IS and Subh. Verses 10, 115, 24* are composed in Dvi. in correct *āryā*-metre, while some secondary sources, particularly SR and SSB and, as far as 24* is concerned, also SRK, GSL and IS, change the *āryā*-metre into *gīti-āryā*. No. 4 of Appendix II is the only case when a verse ascribed to Sundarapāṇḍya was not composed in a perfect *āryā*-metre. The rest of the verses quoted in Annex II are composed in *anuṣṭubh-s* and not *āryā*-metre.

APPENDIX I

Analysis of verses of the Nītidviṣaṣṭikā quoted also in other Sources

4. परपरिवादः परिषदि (अ) P (PP. 3. 102, PtsK 3. 115), IS 3931.
(आ) IS 3531.
(ई) P has in *b* कथंचित् पण्डितेन कर्तव्यः

5. भूमिपतावथपतौ (आ) *a* only in SR 169. 720, SSB 503. 720.

6. स्वाधीने माधुर्ये (आ) SRHt 36.27.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

7. अप्रियमुक्ताः पुरुषाः (आ) SRHt 198.131.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.
(ई) SRHT has in c तस्मन्न (*wrongly; contra metrum* and reads in *d* प्रियम-अ श्रोतृकामेन

8. अल्पाक्षररमणीयं (आ) SR 85.8, SSB 364.8, SRK 111.4, IS 7692.
(इ) SRK a. Śārṅgadhara.
(ई) SR, SSB, SRK, IS have in b वै instead of खलु

10. दुर्जनवदनविनिर्गत (आ) *ab* only in SR 48.120 and SSB 305.122.
(ई) *cd* reads: तद्विषनाशनिमित्तं / साधुः संतोषमौषध पिबति. In SR and SSB the verse is not in *āryā* metre but in *gīti-āryā* metre.

12-3 न तथा शशी न सलिलं and न तथा रिपुर्न शस्त्रं read together.
(आ) both in Subh 286; No. 12 also in Subh 117, both: IS 3260 and 3258 respectively.
(ई) No. 12. Subh reads: *cd* प्रह्लादयन्ति पुरुषं। यथा हि मधुराक्षरा वाणी.

No. 13 Subh reads in *b* : न विषं नहि दारुणो महाव्याधि: and in *cd* : उद्वेजयन्ति पुरुषं यथा हि कटुकाक्षरा वाणी.

इक्षोरग्रास्क्रमशः (अ) P (PP 2.31, PtsK 2.37, PS 1.149 [in some texts only], MK [MK (GOS) 19, MK (S) 18, BhPr 147].

(आ) SRHt 36.26, SR 47.108, SSB 304.110, SRK 13.27, IS 1088, SSap. 685, SLPr. 47.17-8; LN (P) 162, Dh N (P) 103, NKy (B) 207.

(इ) BhPr a. Queen Līlā, SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, SR. a. P, SRK a. Śārṅgadhara.

(ई) I in *c* PS has तद्वद्धि सुजनमैत्री and in *d* SRK, ŚP (according to IS) SSap, SLPr च instead of तु; SRHt has at the end विपरीताम्

19. मूर्खा न द्रष्टव्या (आ) SRHt 30.24.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

22. उपभोगकातराणां (अ) BhPr. 117.

(आ) VS 482, SR 72.32, SSB 341.32; also in SRHt 219.28 in Prākṛt.

(इ) BhPr a. Krīḍacandra, SR a. VS, SRHt a. Gāthākośa.

(ई) BhPr, SR and SSB read *cd* : कन्यामणिरिव सदने / तिष्ठत्यर्थः परस्यार्थे. In SRHt. this verse reads :

उपभयोअकादाराणं पुरिसाणं अत्थसञ्च अपराणम्
कण्णारण्णव्व धनं धरम्मि चिट्वइ परस्स कए ।।।

26. यस्मिन्जीवति जीवति (आ) SRHt 231.11.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

(ई) In SRHt in *a* second जीवति in the MS and in *c* न om. in the MS.

29. शीलं शौचं शान्ति (अ) P (PP 5. 2, Pts 5.2, PtsK 5.2).

(ई) P reads in *cd* : शान्तिर instead of क्षान्तिर; P reads in *cd* : न विराजन्ति हि सर्वे। वित्त विहीनस्य पुरुषस्य ।

30. मानो वा दर्पो वा (अ) P (PP 5.3, Pts 5.3, PtsK 5.3).

(आ) SR 378.45.

(इ) SR a. P.

(ई) P and SR read in *b* : विभ्रमः instead of विक्रयस् and in *cd* : सर्वं नश्यति सहसा। विभव-विहीनो यदा पुरुषः; SR reads in *d* : वित्त-विहीनो यदा पुरुषः ।

31. हेतुप्रमाणयुक्तं (अ) P (PP 2.103, Pts, Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeigen of 1860, p. 130, PM 2.104).

(आ) ŚP 335, SR 65.8, SSB 332.10, SRK 46.27, JS 437.81, IS 7413, ZDMG 25.241.

(इ) ŚP, SSB, JS, and ZDMG a. Kṣemendra; SR a. ŚP; SRK a. Sphuṭaśloka. Not found in any of the printed texts of Kṣemendra.

(ई) P reads in *cd* : अगुणं परुषमनर्थं। वाक्यं श्रव्यं समृद्धस्य and ŚP, SR, SSB, SRK, ZDMG : अप्यतिपरुषमसव्यं। पूज्यं वाक्यं समृद्धस्य ।

33. विद्या श्रुतं तपो वा (आ) SRHt 235.7.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

(ई) SRHt has in *c* पुंसो instead of सर्वं.

44. भिन्नश्लिष्टाप्रीति (आ) SHRt 112.9.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

(ई) SRHt (MS) in *a* has म . . . विनष्टाप्रीतिर् (the editor suggested *metri causa*): महतिविनष्टः प्रीतिर् and in *b* यद्यपि चारेण बहुगुणा भवति ।

48. उपचारः कर्तव्यो (अ) BhPr. 78.

(आ) SRHt 110.27, SSg 1.57, SR 171.788, SSB 506.788.

(इ) SRHt a. Mahābhārata.

(ई) BhPr, SSg, SR, SSB and have in *b* सौहृदाः पुरुषाः and SHRt 36.28. °सौहृदो गवति.

49. धिग्धिक् सज्जनमैत्रीं (आ) SRHt, 36.28.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

54. विद्वानृजुरभिगम्यो (अ) P (PT 1.174, PTem 1.161, PS 1.145, PN 2.118, PP 1.403, PRE 1.163, Benfey 1.281, PM. 1.178, Old Syriac 1.106).

(आ) VS 2884, SR 392.604, IS 6113.

(इ) SR a. P.

(ई) In *a* some texts of P have अगम्यो or अधिगम्यो ; in *b* प्यप्र० instead of चाप्र० and भवितव्यं ;in *c* most of the P. texts have ऋजुमूर्खसत्व् अनु० or .मूर्खो ह्यजुर् or मूर्खार्जवोऽनुकम्पोऽपि or अनुगम्यो अधिगम्यो etc. in *d* most of the P texts have सर्वथा वर्ज्यः but also सवता or सदा and त्याज्यः VS and SR follow the P text (as marked above: "most of the P texts").

58. हिमवति तिष्ठत्यौषध० (आ) SRHt 239.44.

(इ) SRHt a. Varāhamihira but not found in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.

63. श्वा यदि दंशति मनुजा (आ) SRHt 36.24.

(इ) SRHt a. Bhaṭṭa-Bāṇa.

(ई) SRHt has in (a) दशति मनुष्यान् ; in (b) omits पुनः *(contra metrum)* and in *d* reads *contra metrum* : नच तं वदतीह सज्जनः किञ्चित् ।

68. न भवति भवति च

न चिरं (अ) BhŚ 559 (stray verse; there is reason to suspect the originality of this verse), BhPr 285 read by Kālidāsa.

(आ) SRHt 35.22, VS 236, SR 47.7, SSB 304.109 *in Alaṁkāratnākara* of Śobhākārmitra (POS 77) 23 and 515, *Kāvyānuśāsana* of Hemacandra (KM 71) p. 248, VP 1.37, *Subhāṣita-suradruma* of Keḷadi Basavappa Nāyaka (MS BORI 228) 2f. 125 b, *Sārasūktāvali* (MS BORI, 1492 of 1886–92) 1521, Jain *Subhāṣitāvalī* (MS BORI 1424 of 1887–91) 459. Cf. ABORI 48.154, No. 38.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, VS a. Ravigupta, SR a. Bhartṛhari; BhPr. a. (?) Kālidāsa.

(ई) BhPr. has in *a contra metrum* : स भवति for भवति च न; SRHt has तु for च. In *b* SR SSB read : विशंवादि and all other texts विसंवदति for न संभवति ।

73. सुजनो न याति वैरं (अ) BhŚ 801, *Padma Purāṇa*, Uttarakh. 7.23, CNI I 126.

(आ) ŚP 237, VS 241, JS 53.12, SRRU 902, SSB 305.112, SR 47.110, SuM 9.11, IS 7099, Subh 274, SRK 10.4, Skm 5.35, 3, *Subhāṣitasāgara* (MS BORI 421 of 1899–1915) 26.28; *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* of Bhaṭṭa Śri Kṛṣṇa (MS BORI 93 of 1883-84) 2.76, *Subhaṣitārṇava* of Gopīnātha (MS BORI 820 of 1886–92) f. 10 b; *Subhāṣitāśloka* (MS BORI 324 of

1881-82) f. 25 *b; Subhāṣitasuradruma* of Keḷadi Basavappa Nāyaka (MS BORI 228) 2f 97 b, *Sārasūktāvali* (MS BORI 1492 of 1886–92) 9.11, *Subhāṣita-khaṇḍa* of Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭa (MS Rājapūr 105) f. 17b. VP 1.43. Cf. Halhed's *A Code of Gentoo Laws,* London, 1776 p. XXX, *ZDMG* 27.76 and ABORI 48.160. No. 67.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya; ŚP, VS, JS, SRRU, SSB a. Ravigupta, Skm a. Vyāsapada, SR a. Bhartṛhari.

(ई) in a SS has सुजना ; *Padma Purāṇa,* CNI I, JS, SuM and Subh विकृतिं for वैरं In *b* SRK has परहितकार्ये and CNI I, ŚP, VS, SS, SSB, VS, SRK : परहितनिरतो and in *c Padma Purāṇa* has : छिन्नोऽपि for छेदेऽपि ।

99. यो न ददाति न भुङ्क्ते (अ) P (PT 2.110, PTem 2.99, PP 2.107), VCsr 3.6 and 5d (p. 280 a).

(आ) ŚP 387, SR 69.16, SSB 337.18, SRK 62.15, IS 5602.

(इ) SR a. ŚP, SRK a. Śārṅgadhara.

(ई) Most of the P texts transpose in *b* विथति and सति and in *cd* read : कन्यारत्नमिव गृहे । तिष्ठन्त्यर्थाः परस्यार्थे . So also ŚP, SR, SSB, SRK in *b,* but read *c* : तृणमयकृत्रिम-पुरुषो and *d* as Div.

100. स्वल्पापि साधुसम्प (आ) VS 235, SRHt 36.23, SR 48.137, SSB 306.139. Cf. ABORI 48.160. No. 69.

(इ) VS and SRHt a. Ravigupta, SR a. VS.

(ई) VS, SR and SSB read *d*: अपहरति न वारिधेर्जातु।

101. अतिकुपिता अपि सुजना (आ) VS 249, ŚP 238, SR 47.111, SSB 305.113, SRK 19.78, IS 126, Subh 274, GSL 5, VP 1.46.

(इ) SR a. ŚP and SRK a. Indiśesparukha.

(ई) Subh has in *d*: द्रव्यंगोपायोऽस्ति नस्तृणानाम् corrected in IS to द्रवणोपायस्ते न।

102. दोषमपि गुणवति जने (अ) BhPr. 133.

(आ) VS 244, SR 82.38, SSB 357, 45. Cf. No. 13* below. Cf. ABORI 48.154. No. 35.

(इ) VS a. Ravigupta, SR a. VS, BhPr a. Sītā.

103. गुणिनि गुणज्ञो रमते (अ) H (HJ 1.202, HS 1.182, HH 33, 4–5, HC 44.12–3) BC in PS *ad* line 440, L in VCbr I. 6 (second), MK [MK (GOS) 39, MK (S) 41].

(आ) ŚP 293, VS 253, SR 81.35, SSB 357.42, SRK 52.5, RJ 1436, Udbhaṭa in ŚKDr *ad* g. गुणज्ञः।

(इ) SR a. VS, SRK a. Śārṅgadhara.

(ई) Most of H texts have in *b* नागुणशीलस्य (same VC, MK and Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s based on H) or न गुणा गुणिनी परितोष or ना गुणिनि etc. In *b* some H texts have केलि for एति and पद्मं for कमलं ; PS has वनात् for चनात्. In *d* some H texts have न त or न तु for तु. MK has ददुरस्तन्निवासोऽपि and some H texts have भेकस्त्वेक०.

104. अण्वपि गुणाय गुणिनां (आ) JS 55, 13, IS 122, Subh 276. Cf. *ABORI* 48.147; No. 2.

(इ) JS a. Ravigupta.

(ई) In *a* JS has महतां for गुणिनां. In *d* Subh has विपाप for विषाय corrected By O. Böhtlingk in IS.

105. उपकृतिरेव खलानां (आ) VS 417, SRHt 44.58, SR 158. 188, SSB 321.195.

(इ) VS and SSB a. Prakāśvarṣa, SRHt a. Caphaḷadeva; SR a. VS.

106. परवादे दशवदनः (अ) MK [MK (GOS) 13, MK (S) 13].

(आ) VS 389, SR 57, 129, SSB 319. 131.

(इ) SR a. VS.

(ई) MK (GOS) has in *b* and *d*) सहस्र० (sic !) and in *d* जुनो नीचः, but MK (S) as in Dvi. In *c* most of the texts have सद्वृत्त वृत्तिहरणे

107. लब्धोदयः खलजनः (आ) VS 395, SRHt 43.49, SR 58.171, SSB 321.177.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, VS a. Ravigupta, SR 58.171 a. VS. Cf. *ABORI* 48.158. No. 56.

(ई) All texts with the exception of SRHt have in *a* लब्धोदयोऽपि हि खलः and in *b* स्वजनं for स्वजने. In *b* VS has नयति for कतोति (or in other texts, with the exception of SRHt, तनोति [*contra metrum*]).

108. सह वसतामम्यसतां (अ) Cr 1036 (CR 3.38, CPS 61.29.

(आ) SRHt 36.30 and 239.41, VS 399, SR 58.175, SSB 321.181, NBh 236. Cf. *ABORI* 48.159. No. 64.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṅḍya, VS a. Ravigupta, SR a. VS.

(ई) SRHt in *a* अपि सहव सतामसता.
Some texts of Cr have in *b*: जलरुहवद्ध-वत्यसंश्लेष: (*contra metrum*) and in *c*: सतमपि for सतां also *contra metrum*. In *d* Cr has भवति हि कुमुदेन्दुवत्प्रीतिः

109. अतिसत्कृता अपि शठाः (आ) VS 404, SR 58.179, SSB 321.185. Cf. *ABORI* 48.147. No. 3.
(इ) VS and SSB a. Ravigupta.
(ई) SSB transfers in *d* नन and धृतो

111. निर्गुणमप्यनुरक्तं (आ) VS 242, SkV 1357, SR 48.141, SSB 306. 143, IS 3752, Subh 274. Cf. *ABORI* 48.155. No. 39.
(आ) VS a. Ravigupta.
(इ) In *c* Subh has सहवृद्धिक्षयभावं

112. परमर्मघट्टनादौ (आ) (Cf. VS 403, SR 48.141, SSB 321.184. Cf. *ABORI* 48.155. No. 40).
(इ) (VS a. Ravigupta, SR a. VS).
(ई) VS, SR, SSB have different *cd*: यत्सामर्थ्य-मुपहतौ / विषस्य तन्नोपकाराय and in *a* and *b* have नादिषु and न तत्कृत्ये respectively.

113. कटु रटति निकटवर्ती (आ) ŚP 798 *cd/ab*, VS 692, PdT 220 *cd/ab*, SuM 21.5 *cd/ab*, RJ 389, *cd/ab*, SRHt 44.57, PV 729 *cd/ab*, SR 221.8 *cd/ab*, SSB 608.6 *cd/ab*, SRK 183.3 *cd/ab*, Any 55.28 *cd/ab*, ASS 1.7 *cd/ab*, VP 10.41 *cd/ab*, Vidy 27, IS 408 *cd/ab*, Subh 10 *cd/ab*).
(इ) SRHt a. Capphaḷadeva, SRK a. Śārṅga-dhara.
(ई) Div, Vidy, SRHt and VS evidently wrongly transpose *ab* and *cd* and thus all these verses have a wrong metre. In *a* ŚP, PdT, PV, SR, SSB, SRK, Any, VS and

VP have शरणं for युक्तं and Subh has: अयं सरणं . In *b* Div, and SRHt omit तत्र (*contra metrum*) and Vs has *metri causa* 'हंसस्य . In *c* Subh has कंटु for कटु (*contra metrum*). In *d* SuM, Vidy and SRK have वाचालष्टिभो (°चार°), IS: वाचाटो टिट्टभो and Subh: वाचाटः टिट्टिपो; PdT: टिष्टि० or दृष्टिदिम्भो (var.); all other texts: यत्र (correct metre) for यत्स्तस्मात् variants of PdT and ŚP respectively have यत्ना or यथा

14. आरोग्यं विद्वत्ता (अ) Dāmodaragupta's Śambhalimata (Cf. Peterson's II, report pp. 23 sqq).

(आ) ŚP 317, VS 234, SR 170.757, SSB 505.757, SRK 54.10. IS 1011, SSH 1.79, SRRU 890, SRS 2.45, SSpr 85, Cf. Kav. p. 46.

(इ) VS, SSB and SRRU a. Dāmodaragupta, SR 190.757 a. ŚP, SRK a. Prasaṅgaratnāvali.

(ई) In *c* SRS has नरणा for च पुंसां and in *d* SRK has विनाप्यर्थं

115. यः पठति लिखति (आ) SR 170.760, SSB 505.760,

(ई) SR and SSB have in *a* instead of the reconstructed सुकृतिं—पश्यति which is better; In *b* उपाश्रयति which is also better; in *d* SR and SSB change the *āryā* metre into *gīti-āryā* and read:

नलिनीदलमिव विकास्यते बुद्धिः

ANNEX (अनुबन्धः)

12*. अप्रियवचनांगरैर् (आ) SRHt 36.29.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

13*. दूरेऽपि परस्यागसि (आ) VS 407, SRRU 902, SRHt 43.50, SR 58.181, SSB 321.188.

(इ) VS, SRRU a. Ravigupta, SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, SR a. VS.

(ई) In *b* SRRU has सप्रीयेऽपि for समीपेऽपि and in *d* SRRU and SRHt have कलंक and कळंक respectively (for कलंकं).

14*. अपकारिणि कोपश्चेत् (आ) SRHt 82.10.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

(ई) In SRHt in *b* the last *akṣara* is missing.

15*. मित्रमपि याति रिपुतां (आ) SRHt 112.8.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

16*. अतिपरिचयादवज्ञा (आ) VS 2894, SRHt 148.13, IS 139 (Cf. Pr. 362), Subh 295, SR 169.722, SSB 503.722, VP 9.15. (Cf. ŚP 1502, SuM 20.10, SR 169.723, SSB 503. 723, SRK 239.82, SRRU 945, GSL 7, IS 140 (Cf. Pr 362), Subh 138, Bahudarśana 139, Sama 1 अ 12 and 2 अ 6, Vidy 276).

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

(ई) SR and SSB have *b* as in ŚP 1502, etc. i.e. संततगमनादनादरो भवति . In *d* all texts with the exception of VS and SRHt have कूपे स्नानं and VS has सदाचरित

17*. सत्क्षणमपि निष्क्रान्तः (आ) SRHt 149.14.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

18*. प्रणमत्युन्नतिहेतोर् (अ) P (PS 1.78, PD 301.24) H (HJ 2.24, HS 2.25, HM 2.27, HK 2.27, HP 2.23, HN 2.23, HH 43.167, HS 58.1-2), BhŚ 606 *ab*.

(आ) SRHt 149.15, Skm (Skm (B) 2209, Skm (POS) 5.42.4), SR 97.14, SSB 384.14, SRK 108.2, Sāh *ad* 10.722.

(इ) SRHt, a. Sundarapāṇḍya, SR a. H, SRK a. Sabhātaraṅga.

(ई) P, H and most *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* based on H have in *b;* जीवित for जीवन; in *c* PS has : दुःखयति हि and in *d* PD has: अपरः for अन्या : BhŚ has a different reading in *cd* : सुखहेतुस्तव दुःखी सेवक अन्यस्तु मूर्ख एव

19*. (अ) P (PSh 1.22, PD 301.28).

(आ) SRHt 198.133, SR 151.364, SSB 477.323, Subh 259, IS 2077.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

(ई) In *a* all texts have गन्तव्या राजसभा In *b* SR and SSB have राजपूजिता लोकाः PD and Subh राजपूजिता and PS राज-वल्लभाः; in *d* Psh has: भवन्त्यर्थाय (*contra metrum*) and PD: भवेदर्थो in *d* Psh: तथाप्यनर्थां विलीयन्ते ; Subh has भवत्य् and PD भवेद् for भवन्त्य् and SR and SSB have विनश्यन्ति for प्रतिकाराः

20.* सुहृदि निरन्तरचित्ते (अ) P (PT 2.158, PTem 2.140, PS 2.76, PN 1.72, PP 2.181 [Cf. 1.75], Pts 1.102 and 341, PtsK 1.114 and 388, PRE 2.83, Old Syriac 2.55, Arabic 3.198] VCsr 11.9, Vet 4.17.

(आ) SRHt 198.133, SuM 9.13, SR 170.739, SSB 370.33, SRK 225.38, IS 7150.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, SR a. P, SRK a. H.

(ई) In *a* some P texts have निरत्ययचित्ते . In b P, VC, Vet and SuM have: भृत्ये (or दारे) प्रभौ च दुःखज्ञे (or प्रियासु नारिषु) or ऽनुवर्तिनि कलत्रे). In *c* most of the texts have विश्राम्यतीव हृदयं or स्वामिनि सौहृदयुक्ते or गुणान्तरज्ञे. In *d* some P texts have दुःखस्य निवेदनं कृत्वा and SR, SSB, SSB जनः सुखी भवति.

21*. प्राप्य चलानधिकारान् (आ) SRHt 199.135, SR 170.740, SSB 504.740.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

22*. अविधेयो भृत्यजनः (आ) SRHt 199.136, VS 2850, ŚP 1531, SR 169, 725, SSB 503.725. Cf. *ABORI* 48.148. No. 9.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, VS a. Ravigupta.
(ई) Dvi. changes in *b* मित्राण्यदायकः to मित्राणि निर्दयः . In *c* ŚP, SR and SSB have: अविनयवती for विनयरहिता

23*. सुलजोऽयं गुणवानिति (आ) SRHt 199.137, VS 2859.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, VS a. Ravigupta.
(ई) VS has in *b*: विश्वास नाचरेत्खलप्रकृतौ In *c* SRHt has न तु for ननु

24*. अप्रतिबुद्धे श्रोतरि (आ) SRHt 199.138, VS 2888, SR 170.742, SSB 504.742, SRK 236.58, IS 7662, GSL 17.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, SRK a. Prasaṅgaratnāvalī.
(ई) SR, SSB, SRK, GSL and IS have in *b*: वक्तुर्वाक्यं प्रयाति वैफल्यम् and in *cd*: नयनविहीने भर्तरि / लावण्यमिवेह खञ्जनाक्षीणाम्. In *c* Div. changes कामिनि to स्वामिनि In *d* VS has: लावण्यविलासस्त्रीणाम्.

SR, SSB, SRK, GSL and IS change the *āryā* metre into a *gīti-āryā*.

25*. विगतज्वरमिव हृदयं (आ) SRHt 199.139.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

26.* धनिनोऽप्यदाननिरता (अ) BhPr 116.
(आ) SRHt 218.16, SR 72.43, SSB 342.46.
(ऊ) BhPr a. Krīḍacandra; SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya; SR a. BhPr.
(ई) In *a* BhPr has: अदानविभव and SR and SSB: अदानयोगा for अदनिरता In *b* all the texts have गण्यन्ते instead of वर्ण्यन्ते,

27*. सेवेव मानमखिलं (अ) P (PS 2.39, PN 1.36), H (HJ 1.147, HS 1.130, HM 1.136, HK 1.139, HP 1.105, HN 1.106, HH 27.9-10, HC 37.1-2).
(आ) SRHt 223.12, SRK 59.9, IS 7173.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, SRK a. Sphuṭaśloka.
(ई) Some H texts have in *b* लावन्यम् and in *d* गुणैः and गुणैस्तमप्य°. In *d* PN has: अर्थितो हरति and PS हन्ति for हरति

28*. मायाविनिमर्याव० (आ) SRHt 226.23.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.
(ई) In *b* SRHt has ह्लव० for °मित्त०

29*. गर्जंति शरदि न वर्षति (आ) SRHt 239.40, Subh in IS 2089
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.
(ई) In *b* Subh (MS) has निःश्वनो corrected to निःस्वनो . In *d* Subh and IS have साधुः for सुजनः.

30*. अनुकुरुतः खलसुजना (आ) SRHt 239.42, ŚP 239, JS 53.11, SSB 305.114, SR 47.12, SRK 14.35, SkV 1218, Subhāṣitāhārāvalī (MS BORI 92 of 1883-84) A 60 *a* 597, SSg 215, SRRU 884, IS 311.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, ŚP, JS, SkV, Subhāṣitāhārāvalī, SRRU a. Gobhaṭa or Śūci-Gobhaṭa, SR a. ŚP, SRK a. Śārṅgadhara.

(ई) In *a* SkV, SRRU and some texts of JS have: अनुहरतः and some texts of ŚP: खलु॰ . In *b* some texts of ŚP have: आग्रिम॰ and पाश्चात्यभागो यो or शून्याः for सूच्या, and SSg has: पाश्चात्ययो (*contra metrum*). In *c* SKV, SRRU and some texts of JS have: एकः कुरुते छिद्रं SSg reads *d*: मुद्रणभस्या-परोऽपि विदधाति. Some texts of ŚP have: त्वदधाति; IS has in *d*: गुणावानन्यश्च पि॰ while SkV and SRRU: गुणवानन्यः प्रपूरयति and the other sources: गुणवानन्यस्त्वपिदधाति.

31*. त्यजति भयंकृतपापो (आ) SRHt 240.46, VS 2847, ŚP 1545, SR 169.728, SSB 503.728.

(अ) Cf. *ABORI* 48.153. No. 32.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, Vs and SSB a. Ravigupta.

(ई) VS, ŚP, SR, SSB have: भयमकृतपापो (or पं); in *b* ŚP, SR and SSB have: मित्रमयशः प्र॰ and in *d* transpose स्त्री and क्रूरं

32*. दक्षः श्रियमधिगच्छति (अ) H (HJ 3.117, HS 3.112, HM 3.113, HK 3.113, HP 3.110, HN 3.110, HC 123.10—1), Vānarāṣṭaka (KSH 244) 2.

(आ) SRHt 240.47, VS 2849, SR 170.774, SSB 505.774, IS 2679, Anyoktyaṣṭaka 8.1. Cf. *ABORI* 48.153. No. 33.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, VS and SSB a. Ravigupta, SR (a. H).

(ई) Some texts of H had श्रितम् for श्रियम् In *b* some texts of H have: कल्याणं or कल्पतमरोगी च or कल्पतं सुखमरोगी च or अरोगी च (last three *contra metrum*). All texts with the exception of SRHt have in *b* अरोगी In d Vāna° has उद्यक्तो विद्यां तथा (*contra metrum*), some H texts and Anyokti° have: उद्योगी and VS अभ्यासी for उद्यक्तः

33*. कोऽन्धो यो न विनीतः (अ) Vimalapraśnottararatnamālā (KM VII 122) 16 and (Tibetan texts) 13 (in the Journal of the Greater India Society 17. Nos. 1-2, p. 106).

(आ) SRHt 240.48, SR 170.763, SSB 505.763.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

(ई) In *a* all texts have योऽकार्यरतः for न विनीतः : Vimla°, SR and SSB read in को मूको यः काले। प्रियाणि वक्तुं न जानाति.

APPENDIX II

Additional verses ascribed to Sundarapāṇḍya and not quoted in the Nītidviṣaṣṭikā

1. अन्तःसारोऽपि निर्याति नूनमर्थितया सह ।
अन्यथा तदवस्थस्य महिमा केन देहिनाम् ।।
SRHt 223.10, a. Sundarapāṇḍya (*anuṣṭubh*).

2. चलेषु स्वामिचित्तेषु सुलभे पिशुने जने ।
यदि जीवन्त्यहो चित्रं क्षणमप्यनुजीविनः ।
SRHt 148.11, a. Sundarapāṇḍya SR 97.2, SSB 383.2 (*anuṣṭubh*).

3. द्वयं जहाति सेवकः सुखं च मानमेव च
यदर्थमर्थमीहते तदेव तस्य हीयते ।।
SRHt 148.12, a. Sundarapāṇḍya (*anuṣṭubh*).

4. नर्मान्तः परिहासो
यावत् क्रियमाणमभद्रकत्वं च ।
स्मरणं च दुष्कृतानां
त्रीणि कुमित्रस्य चिह्नानि ।।
SRHt 112.10, a. Sundarapāṇḍya (*āryā* irregular).

5. मया निवार्यमाणोऽपि भजते प्रार्थनामयम्
इति लज्जितयामन्ये लज्जयार्थी निराकृतः ।।
SRHt 223.11, a. Sundarapāṇḍya (*anuṣṭubh*).

6. विद्वत्तां समरे शौर्यमाभिजात्यं सुरूपताम् ।
लिखीकरोति[1] वाञ्छैका दुःशीलेवांगना कुलम् ।।
SRHt 223.9, a. Sundarapāṇḍya (*anuṣṭubh*).

[1] or खलीकरोति (reconstructed).

APPENDIX III

Correlation of verses ascribed to Sundarapāṇḍya in SRHt and found in the edition of the Nītīdviṣaṣṭikā or in Annex II.

SRHt	Dvi	SRHt	Dvi
30.24	19	199.137	23*
35.21	73	199.138	24*
35.22	68	218.16	26*
36.26	16	223.9	Annex II 5
36.27	6	223.10	Annex II 1
36.28	49	223.11	Annex II 6
36.29	12*	223.12	27*
36.30	108	226.23	28*
(See 239.41)		231.11	26
43.49	107	235.7	3
43.50	13*	239.40	29*
44.51	106	239.41	108
112.8	15*	(See 36.30)	
82.10	14*	239.42	30*
112.9	44	240.46	31*
112.10	Appendix II. 4	240.47	32*
148.11	Appendix II. 2	240.48	33*[1]
148.12	Appendix II. 3		
148.13	16*		
149.14	17*		
149.15	18*		
198.131	7		
198.132	19*		
198.133	20*		
199.135	21*		
199.136	22*		

(1) SRHt 239. 34 to 39 are not included in this list; it is not clear whether the author of SRHt considered these verses as written by Sundarapāṇḍya or not; they are not in Dvi.

NEW LIGHT ON THE LIFE AND WORKS OF RĀJAŚEKHARA

By Buddha Prakash *

The famous Sanskrit poet and dramatist Rājaśekhara was a 'Yāyāvara Brāhmaṇa' from Mahārāṣṭra. His great grandfather Akālajalada is called a crestjewel of Mahārāṣṭra, his grandfather Surānanda distinguished himself as a man of letters and his father Durduka or Duhika took to Government service and rose to be the chief minister. Rājaśekhara came to the court of the Gūrjara--pratīhāras of Kanauj and was appointed the teacher of Mahendrapāla or Nirbhayarāja.[1] He was a prolific writer and his extant works are the *Bālarāmāyaṇa,* the *Karpūramañjarī,* the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā,* the *Bālabhārata* and the *kāvyamīmāṁsā.* We have also quotations from his other works the *Harvilāsa* and the *Bhuvanakośa* but they have not come down to us. In the prologue to his play *Bālarāmāyaṇa,* he himself refers to his six *prabandhas,* but they are all lost to us.

Among the extant works of Rājaśekhara the Bālarāmāyaṇa is a dramatisation of some episodes of the Rāma story, the *Karpūramañjarī* centres round the marriage of King Caṇḍapāla with the Kuntala princes Karpūramañjarī through the instrumentality of the Śaiva Tāntrik ascetic Bhairavānanda and the consequential attainment of paramountcy by him; the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* refers to the marriage of the Kalacuri King Vidyādharamalla alias Karpūravarṣa or Keyūravarṣa with Mṛgāṅkāvalī, daughter of King Candravarman of Lāṭa, and Kuvalayamālā, daughter of King Caṇḍamahāsena Vīrapāla of South India, as a result of which he assisted his father-in-law to win his lost kingdom and for that purpose sent a strong force under Śrīvatsa which defeated a confederacy of Southern Kings on the bank of the river Payoṣṇī (modern Pūrṇā or Paingangā) and recovered the kingdom of Caṇḍamahāsena Vīrpāla and also confirmed the paramountcy of the Kalacuri monarch; the *Bālabhārata* is an incomplete play on the *Mahābhārata* theme in two acts and the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* is a treatise on the craft of the poet with a wealth of other information.

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* Director, Institute of Indic Studies, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

1. 885 or 890–910 A.D.

The chronology of the aforesaid works of Rājaśekhara is a subject of controversy. V. S. Apte in his *Rājaśekhara, His Life and Works* arranged them as follows: 1, the *Karpūramañjarī,* 2, the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā,* 3, the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and 4, the *Bālabhārata* (the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* being unknown at that time. Sten KONOW[2] and A.B. Keith[3] broadly accept this chronology but place the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* before the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā.* C. D. Dalal[4] differs from this view and places the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and the *Bālabhārata* before the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* and the *Karpūrmañjarī* and the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* after it. V. V. Mirashi,[5] has his own theory on this subject according to which he chronologically arranges these works as the *Bālarāmāyaṇa,* the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* and the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā.*

The chronology of the works of Rājaśekhara is intimately connected with his eventful life. As said above he joined the court of the pratihāra Kings of Kanauj at a very young age during the reign of Mihira Bhoja[6] and was appointed to teach the prince Mahendrapāla who came to the throne in 885 or 890 A. D. and ruled up to cir. 910 A.D. During this period he composed his earliest works, the six lost *Prabandhas,* as well as his play *Bālarāmāyaṇa* which was staged at the court of Mahendrapāla. As Mirashi rightly states, "the lengthy prologue of the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* in which the poet gives more information about himself than anywhere else, its apologetic tone, the inordinate length of the play, the crude devices such as the introduction of dolls with parrots in their mouths, the anachronisms in the scene of Sītāsvayaṁvara, all these indicate that it was the first play of our poet.[7]

Another play, connected with Mahendrapāla, written by Rājaśekhara, was the *Karpūrmañjarī* as I have shown elsewhere.[8] This play refers to a King caṇḍapāla as an aspirant for paramountcy[9] and

2. Sten Konow, *Das Indische Drama,* p. 84.
3. A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama,* p. 232.
4. C. D. Dalal, *The Kāvyamīmāṁsā,* Introduction, p. xvi.
5. V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology,* Vol. 1, p. 55.
6. 836—885 A.D.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Buddha Prakash, *Studies in Indian History and Civilization,* pp. 417—427.
9. *Karpūrmañjarī* (ed. sten Konow). Harvard oriental series, vol. iv, p. 7.

चण्डवालधरणी हरिणांको चक्कवीट्टपग्रलाहणिमित्तं सत्थ सट्ट ग्रवरे
रससोत्ते कुन्तलाहि वसुग्रं परिणेइ ॥

hails him as the conqueror of eastern regions like Aṅga, Campā. Rādhā, Kāmarūpa and Harikeli[10] and then mentions him as the overlord of the kingdom of Kuntala being the husband of his daughter Karpūramañjarī. Mirashi identefies Caṇḍapāla with the Pratihāra King Mahīpāla, but his view cannot be accepted because Mahīpāla lost control over a large part of the east, as we learn from a number of Pāla inscriptions, and suffered serious reverses at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan and was never on friendly terms with them. As I have shown elsewhere, the defeat of Mahīpāla at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief Kṛṣṇa III about 939-940 A.D., mentioned in the Deoli plates, has an echo in the defeat of Acala by Yaśodhara mentioned in the *Yaśastilakacampū* of Somadeva.[11] On the other hand, Mahendrapāla was not only paramount in the east, as is clear from his numerous inscriptions found there, the latest being one on a sūrya image from Mahīsantosh in the Dinajpur district recording the dedication of that image by one Lokanandin in the fifteenth regnal year of his reign,[12] but also effectively intervened in the affairs of the South, as the Khajurāho inscription of the Candela chief Vijayaśakti shows.[13] Thus it is undouted that Caṇḍapāla of the play stands for Mahendrapāla and that the drama represents the crowning hour in the triumphant history of the Pratihāra empire under him.

On the association of Rājaśekhara with the Pratihāras after Mahendrapāla some new light is shed by the Vajīrkheḍa Copperlate Grants of Indra III.[14] These plates, found at Vjīrkheḍa, about four miles to the east of Malegaon in the Nasik District, are dated the seventh of the bright fortnight of Phālguna of the Yuvasaṁvatsara, the Śaka being 836, corresponding to 24th February

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10. Ibid, p. 9.

जग्र जग्र पुव्वदि-सङ्गणाभुग्रङ्ग चम्पाचम्पककण्णाऊर, राढाणि ज्जिदराढा चङ्गत्तण विक्कमक्कन्तकामरूव हरिकेलिकेलि ग्रार ग्रवमणिद जच्चसुवण्णवण्ण सव्वङ्गसुन्दरत्तणरमणिज्ज सुहाग्र दे होदु सुरहिसमारम्भो ।

11. Buddha Prakash, *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization*, pp. 129—131.

12. S. C. Mukherji, 'Mahīsantosh sūrya Image Inscription,' *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Calcutta, No. (January 1967) pp. 44-55.

13. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 1, pp. 141—142, verse 20.

14. Y. B. Kolte, 'two vajīrkheḍa copper plate Grants of Indra III,' *Nagpur University Journal* (*Humanities*). Vol. xvii, No. 2, April 1967. pp. 117—142.

915 A.D. They were issued by Nityavarṣadeva, also called Srīvallabha Narendradeva or the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III, after going through the *paṭṭabandha* ceremony and weighing himself with gold in the scales called *Tulāpuruṣa* at the *kuruṇḍaka*. The *praśasti* portion of these grants representing a departure from that of the Bagumra and Jamgaon grants and containing some new information about the Rāṣṭrkūtas, is in ornate and elegant Sanskrit verses composed by Rājaśekhara. It is quite probable that this poet Rājaśekhara is the same who wrote the works, under discussion, mentioned above, for we know of no other poet bearing this name in that period. Should this view be correct, we would see that Rājaśekhara left the Pratihāras soon after the death of Mahendrapāla, perhaps due to some estrangement, and went over to their rivals, the Rāśṭrakūṭas, and enjoyed a good rank of court poet and panegyrist there.

It is noteworthy that up to 915 A.D. the reigning Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indra III, to whose court Rājaśekhara had repaired and whom he called *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja—parameśvara-śrīmannityavarṣadevapṛthvīvallabhaḥ śrīvallabha-narendradevaḥ*, had not led his famous expedition against Mahipāla by the Bhopal-Jhansi-Kalpi road and "completely devastated the hostile city of Mahodaya (Kānyakubja) which is even today greatly renowned among men by the name of *Kuśasthala*" as the cambay plate of Govinda IV states,[15] for otherwise, it must have found a place in the Vajīrkheḍa panegyric composed by Rājaśekhara. However he had an intimate knowledge of Pratihāra-Rāṣṭrakūṭa relations for he states that Jagattuṅga inflicted a severe reverse on the Pratihāras,[16] a fact not known from the Bagumra and Jambgaon plates. The love of his description of Jagattuṅgas victory and the disaster of the Pratihāras, particularly his remark "the surviving Gūrjars do not leave the fever of fear even now"; shows that he had some deep-seated grudge against his erstwhile Pratihāra benefactors.

15. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. viii, p. 26.

येनेदं हि महोदयारिनगरं निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं नाम्नाद्यापि जनैः कुशस्थलमिति ख्यातिं परां नीयते ।

16. Vajīrkheḍa plates, *op. cit.*, Verse 9.

यस्याद्यापि प्रचण्डासिपातविश्लिष्टविग्रहाः ।
हतशेषा विमुंचन्ति गूर्जरा न भयज्वरम् ।।

Indra III lived upto cir. 929 as a recently discovered copper plate grant shows.[17] He was followed on the throne by his elder son Amoghavarṣa II but his reign lasted only for an year as a charter of the Śīlāhāra chief Aparājita proves.[18] How his end came so soon we do not know, but rumours about the complicity of his brother Govinda in it must have been afloat, to allay which the latter had to proclaim repreatedly that he was not guilty of the charge.[19] The new King Govinda IV[20] was easeloving and slothful. As the Karhad Plates state, "his intellect became ensured in the eyes of young women, his mind became hemmed in by the flashes of the eyes of beautiful damsels, his limbs became enfeebled as his body began to be undermined by a number of maladies, his vicious conduct alienated the sympathies of all men, the constituents of the body politic became noncoherent, neutralising his strength and power, and he met with a natural destruction.[21] In this situation many subjects, ministers and fendatories became disgusted with his excesses and inefficiency and some even left him. It is likely that Rājaśekhara also departed from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa court and joined that of the Kalacuris of Tripuri.

The Kalacuris or cedis of Tripuri were the relatives and associates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the time of Kokalla I but with the accession of the energetic and enterprising Yuvarājadeva, their attitude towards the latter changed in particular the occupation of the throne of vengi by Yuddhamalla II with the help of Rāṣṭrakūṭa armies in supression of Bhīma ensured the hegemony of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas over the entire Deccan and alarmed the Kalacuris. To restore the balance of power the Kalacuri king Yuvarājadeva befriended Bhīma of Vengi in preference to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It appears that Bhīma took shelter in the Kalacuri court and married his daughter to Yuvarājadeva and solicited his assistance to regain his patrimony. Yuvarājadeva despatched a large army to help him, to meet which a confideracy of southern kings organized their forces and offered resistence on the bank of the Pūrṇā or the Paiṅgangā. A bloody engagement followed on the eve of which the Rāṣṭrakūṭa

17. Dasharatha Sharma, *Rajasthan Through The Ages*, Vol. i, p. 184; A. S. Altekar in *The Early History of the Deccan*, ed. G. Yazdani, p. 288.

18. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 271.

19. *Ibid*, Vol. VII, p. 26.

20. Cir. 930—36 A.D.

21. *Ibid*, Vol. VII, p. 271.

king Govinda IV died and consequently his army was routed. On his death the fendatories offered the throne to Baḍḍīga Amoghavarṣa, who was the son-in-law of Yuvarājadeva and lived at his court, and Bhīma was coronated at Vengi under the title of Rājamārtaṇḍa Gaṇḍamahendra. These events have been dramatised by Rājaśekhara in his drama *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* which was staged at the Kalacuri court at Tripuri, as I have shown elsewhere.[22]

With his son-in-law Baḍḍīga Amoghavarṣa on the throne of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and his father-in-law Bhīma II Rājmārtaṇḍa Gaṇḍamahendra on that of the calukyas of Vengi and the Pratihāra realm not fully recovered from the blow of Indra III the Kalacuri King Yuvarājaveda could claim to be paramount over all his contemporaries, as the Karitalai inscription of his son Lakṣamaṇasena states.[23] But soon the pendulum swung. Baḍḍīga Amogharṣa's son Kṛṣṇa III was not a man to tolerate the paramountcy of any neighbour. Hence during the life time of his father, he valiantly lashed out at kalacuris and inflicted on Yuvarājadeva a crushing defeat in 938 A.D. as the Karhad plates indicate.[24] This difficulty of the kalacuris inclined Rājaśekhara to think that Yuvarājadeva was a broken reed to lean upon. Hence he decided to leave it and join some other powerful potentate. Since he had fallen out with the Rāṭṣṭrakūṭas, there was no point in his going over to them again. Therefore, he resolved to join the Pratihāras again who were gradually emerging from their eclipse into a position of paramountcy.

We have observed that mahīpāla was driven from pillar to post after his defeat at the hands of Indra III in 916 A.D. But soon afterwords Indra retired to the Deccan for some inner reasons leaving the field free for Mahīpāla in the North. Hence we find Mahīpāla recovering his glory in a moment and ranking as the full fledged monarch of the North as before. An inscription from Asni, in

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22. Buddha Prakash, *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization,* pp. 132—148; *V. V. Mirashi, Felicitation Volume,* pp. 406—423.

23. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXXIII, p. 187.

यस्यांघ्रिवारिरुहि व ढ़मलीयमानाः प्रापुर्द्विषस्सपदि संपदमापदञ्च

24. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. IV, p. 284.

रामहृतसहस्रभुजो भुजद्वयाकलितसमदरामेण ।
जननीपत्नीगुरुरपि येन सहस्रार्जुनो विजितः ।।

the Fatehpur-Haswa district of U. P., dated 917 A.D. refers to the victorious and prosperous rule of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Mahīpāladeva on the earth,[25] showing that the very next year of his defeat he had recovered his empire and regained his status. On getting some respite Mahīpāla addressed himself to the task of strengthening his hold over the north-western frontier and break the entente between the śāhīs and Kaśmīra. He led an expedition against the śāhīs with a vast army of horses and elephants and inflicted a defeat on them as we learn from the khajurāho inscription of the Candela ruler Yaśovarman.[26] In course of that campaign he also reduced the rules of Khasa and Kaśmīra and thus established his overlordship over the Panjab and the North-West. Referring to that state of affairs the *Hudūd-al-Ālam* says that "Vayhiṅd and Kaśmīra were the dependencies of the rāy of Qirmanj"[27]

After these stirring successes in the North, Mahīpāla turned his attention to the East and the South and probably clashed with the Karas of Kaliṅga, the Kalacuris of Tripuri, śilāhāras of Konkan etc. so as to send a shudder upto Kerala. It appears that these movments synchronized with the rupture between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Kalacuris.[28] It is also likely that one of his generals Bhaṭṭa lunched a raid in the South and defeated a number of rulers there as the Catsu inscription of Bālāditya relates.[29] For a time Mahīpāla claimed to be the paramount ruler of the whole country.[30] It was

25. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVI, pp. 173—5.

26. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 126—128, 132—134.

साहिस्तस्मादवाप द्विपतुरगबलेनानु हेरम्बपालः

27. Buddha Prakash, *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization*.

28. About 938 A.D.

29. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, pp. 10 ff.

आक्रान्ता वीक्ष्य सैन्यैर्वि............ततीर भग्ननानानगौघः ।
भीतो बन्वादिवालं पुनर्मृदुमरुद्धेपमानोर्विबाहुः ॥
यस्यादाद्दक्षिणाब्धिः समिति जितवतो दाक्षिणात्यान् क्षितीशान् ।
ईशदेशदशेषान् लसदसमरुचो वेलया रत्नराजिः ॥

30. Dasharatha Sharma suggests that sometime before 931 A.D. Bhoja II succeeded Mahīpāla and next year *Vināyakapāla* came to the throne (*Rajasthana through the ages*, pp. 187—90). It is difficult to accept this view, for, apart from other circumstances, it is difficult to accomodate the victories of Mahīpāla during the reign of Indra III and then the paramountcy of Yuvarājadeva, hinted in the Karitalai inscription and the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*.

then that Rājaśekhara joined him and wrote his Kāvyamīmāṁsā and then *Bālabhārata* or *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava,* at his court.

In his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* he states that directions should be measured from Mahodaya or Kanauj.[31] Considering this as well as other data of this work Dasaratha Sarma rightly holds that it was composed at the court of Mahīpāla.[32] His last work was the imcomplete *Bālabhārata* or *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* in two acts only. In it Mahīpāla is called the pearl-jewel of the Raghu family and the paramount sovereign, *mahārājādhirāja,* of Āryāvarta,[33] and his several military achievements are poetically spoken of in detail. He is said to have made the Muralas bow down their heads in salutation, acted as a fever to the Mekalas, driven the Kalingas before him in battle, spoilt the pastime of Kerala ruler, conquered the Kulūtas, behaved like a battle-axe to the kuntalas and taken away by force the fortune of the Ramaṭhas.[34]

This crowning moment of glory in the career of Mahīpāla arrived about 938 A.D. as said above. Soon afterwards Kṛṣṇa III defeated Mahīpāla and wrested the forts of Citrakūṭa and Kālañjara from him. The Deoli Plate of 940 A.D. states that "on hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds in the southern regions simply by means of his angry glance the hope about Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa vanished from the heart of the Gūrjara."[35] That Kṛṣṇa III actually occupied these regions is manifest from an inscription found at Jura in the former Maihar State of Baghelkhand containing of eulogy in the Kannaḍa language.[36] This victory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas over the Pratīhāras underlies the reference to the war of Yaśodhara and Acala in the *Yaśastilakacampū* of Somadeva.[37] This rebuff queered the

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31. Kāvyamīmāṁsā, p. 94.

'तत्रापि महोदयं मूलमवधीकृत्य' इति यायावरीयः ।

32. D. Sharma, '*Rājaśekharīya Kāvyamīmāṁāyā racanāsthānam,*' *Sarasvatīsuṣamā,* Vol. VII, p. 301 ff.

33. रघुवंशमुक्तामणिना आर्यावर्तमहाराजाधिराजेन श्रीनिर्भयनरेन्द्रनन्दनेन ।

34. *Bālabhārata,* Vol. I, p. 7.

नमितमुरलमौलिः पाकलो मेकलानां रणकलितकलिंगः केलितट्केरलेन्दोः ।
अजनि जितकुलूतः कुन्तलानां कुठारो हठहृतरमठश्रीः श्रीमहीपालदेवः ॥

35. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. V., p. 194, Verse 25.

36. *Ibid.,* Vol. XIX, pp. 287—290.

37. Buddha Prakash, *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization,* pp. 129—131.

pitch for Mahīpāla and cut him to size once again. Sometime afterwards he died for we find his son Mahendrapāla II on the throne in 945-46.

Thus it is clear that Mahīpāla's peak hour was around 938 A.D. and the reference to him in the *Bālabhārata* of Rājaśekhara as the paramount ruler of Āryāvarta reflects the state of affairs at that time. Since Rājaśekhara could write only two acts of it, it can be presumed that he died without completing it all of a sudden. Subsequently some scribe, in order to show that the play consisted of two acts only, wrote at its end *samāptamidam pracaṇḍapāṇḍavābhidham nāṭakam,* which need not be stretched to mean that Rājaśekhara purposely wrote it in two acts only contrary to his practice in his other plays.

The above discussion of the life and works of Rājaśekhara shows that he began his literary life at the court of Mihira Bhoja at Kanauj. There he taught the crownprince Mahendrapāla during whose reign he consequently enjoyed great prestige. At that time he wrote first the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and then the *Karpūramañjarī.* After the death of Mahendrapāla, obviously due to some difficulty, he left the Pratihāra court and went over to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indra III. There he composed the Vajīrkheḍa Praśastis. But during the vicious reign of Govind IV,[38] he again faced discomfiture and leaving the Rāṣṭrakūṭa court came to that of the Kalacuris at Tripuri. There he composed his *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* about 936-37 A.D. But the political Kaleidoscope again changed and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas got the upperhand over the Kalacuris. In that situation Rājaśekhara took leave of the Kalacuris and came again to the Pratihāra court at Kanauj to sing the eulogies of Mahīpāla. There he composed first his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* and then his *Bālabhārata* or *Pracaṇḍa Pāṇḍava.* But he had hardly completed the second act of this play when he suddenly died about 938 A.D.

The eventful life of Rājaśekhara, connected with the leading courts of the Pratihāras, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and Kalacuris, shows with what astounding rapidity poets and writers changed their allegiance and affiliation and shifted the venues of their work as well as the subjects of their praises and panegyrics in the Kaleidoscopic conditions of *sāmanta*-oriented society of India in the tenth century A.D.

38. Cir. 930–36 A.D.

KAVĪNDRĀCĀRYA SARASWATĪ, A NATIVE OF MAHĀRĀṢṬRA

By Dr. M. D. Paradkar*

Kavīndrācārya Saraswatī, a learned Paṇḍit of the 17th century, distinguished himself by successfully leading a deputation of Paṇḍits to the emperor Shah Jehan, who, thereafter, withdrew the tax imposed on pilgrims to Benaras and Allahabad. It is natural that Hindu community considered this to be a great achievement of the Ācārya and congratulations were poured upon him from all quarters. Titles of *Kavīndra, Vidyānidhāna* and *Ācārya* were conferred upon him. *Kavīndracandrodaya* a compendium of his eulogies in prose and verse has been already published in the Poona Oriental Series in 1939. Dr. Gode has reconstructed a biographical account of Kavīndrācārya in the light of points of similarity observed by him in Bernier's travels and *Kavīndracandrodaya*.[1] He says "Shah Jehan had also given him a pension of Rs. 2000 but it was stopped by Aurangzeb as soon as he came to the throne in 1658-59. Dārā Shikoh, the eldest son of Shah Jehan, who was a lover of Hindu Philosophy, had gathered many paṇḍits round him. Kavīndra occupied the foremost place among these paṇḍits and he was included in Dārā's household as stated by Bernier."

It has been already pointed out by Dr. V. Raghavan in his article[2] on 'Kavīndrācārya Saraswatī that he was also a man of letters who served literature by not only collecting an unique Mss. library,[3] but by contributing his works'. He appears to be a scholar not merely of the Vedas, Darśanas and Kāvya-Nāṭaka-Alaṅkāra, but was also well versed in Music, Astrology, Āyurveda. *Kavīndracandrodaya* extols him as a grammarian. It is interesting to note

* University of Bombay.

† This paper was read at the 23rd session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Aligarh, in October 1966.

1. Cf. Dr. Gode's article in '*Studies in Indian Literary History*', Vol., II, p. 374.

2. *Ācārya Puṣpāñjali Volume* (D. R. Bhandarkar Com. Vol.) pp. 160—165.

3. Vide '*Kavīndrācāryasūcīpatra*' published by the Baroda Government in G. O. Series, 1921.

that in verse 28 of the Appendix of this work Ratnaśarman calls him 'Prākṛtavyākṛtijñaḥ'. Aufrecht in his Catalogus Catalogorum mentions five works of this author viz. *Kavīndra-Kalpadruma, Yogabhāskarayoga, Śatapathabrāhmaṇabhāṣya, Haṁsadūta Kāvya* and *Padacandrikā*. Compliments, such as विद्या को न पारावार from Viśvambhara Maithila or सकल कला प्रवीन गुरु हू के गुरु तुम, केहरि है क्रीडा करौ नित विद्या-वनमें from Śaṅkara Upādhyāya in *Kavīndracandrikā*, therefore, contain a great amount of truth. Dr. Gode's identification of this Kavīndra with the 'chief of the Paṇḍits' seen by Bernier at Benaras has added more of glory to the history of this sāvant of the 17th century.

'*Kavīndracandrikā*' like *Kavīndracandrodaya*, is another collection of a similar type bringing together eulogistic addresses presented to Kavīndrācārya in Hindi. This anthology mentions 30 names of contemporary poets and learned men who have paid gloring tributes to him.[5] The work also informs us that due to the achievement of Kavīndra, his fame travelled to distant contries like Rumsham, Irak and Tibet. One of the introductory verses of this work speaks of the fact that Kavīndrācārya of the Āśvalāyana Śākhā of the *Ṛgveda* hailed from a holy place on the banks of Godāvarī, became a recluse at a very early age and later settled at Benaras. The verse runs as follows:—

पहले गोदातीर निवासी। पाछे श्राइ बसे श्रीकासी ॥
ऋग्वेदा श्रासुलायन साषा। तिनमें ग्रन्थ भयो है भाषा ॥
सब विषयनि सो भये उदास। बालपना में लयो संन्यास ॥
उनि सब विद्या पढ़ी-पढ़ाई। विद्यानिधि सुकवीन्द्र गुसाईं ॥

4. Cf. 'Bernier and Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī at the Mogul Court'—*Studies in Indian Literary History*, Vol.. II, pp. 364—379.

5. कवीन्द्रचन्द्रिका ed. by Dr. Krishna Diwakar, is published by Maharashtra Rashtrabhasha Sabha, Poona 2. This list may be recorded here for reference:

(१) सुखदेव कवि, (२) नन्दलाल कवि, (३) भीष कवि, (४) पंडितराज, (५) रामचन्द्र, कवि, (६) धर्मेश्वर कवि, (७) हरीराम कवि, (८) रघुनाथ कवि, (९) विश्वंभर मैथिल, (१०) शंकर उपाध्याय, (११) भैरव कवि, (१२) सीतापति त्रिपाठी, (१३) मंगद कवि, (१४) गोपाल त्रिपाठी, (१५) विश्वनाथ कवि, (१६) जीवन कवि, (१७) घनस्याम, (१८) ब्रज-भूषण, (१९) लच्छीराम, (२०) चिन्तामणि, (२१) देवराम कवि, (२२) कुलमणि, (२३) त्वरित कविराज, (२४) गोविन्दभट्ट, (२५) जयराम कवि, (२६) वंशीश्वर, (२७) गोपीनाथ, (२८) राम कवि, (२९) जादवराय पण्डित (३०) जगतराय।

In addition to verses of these, as many as fifteen come from anonymous writers.

Another Hindi work by name *Bhāṣāyogavāsiṣṭhasāra* of this learned Sanyāsin has now come to light. The introduction of this work also speaks of him as गोदातीरनिवासी *i.e.* an original inhabitant of the bank of Godāvarī.[6] This work is also known by the name *Jñānasāra* as is from its MSS. preserved in places like the संस्कृत पाठशाला at Rajapur, Kashi Nagari Prachar Sabha etc.

This confirms the truth of the verse found in his *Kavīndra-Kalpadruma*:—

गोदातीरे प्रमोदावलिबलितमे जन्मभाक्पुण्यभूमौ[7]
ऋग्वेदी वेदवेदी जगति विजयते श्रीकवीन्द्रो द्विजेन्द्रः।
अधीत्य वेदवेदाङ्गकाव्यशास्त्राणि सर्वशः
ततः स्वीकृत्य संन्यासं ब्रह्माभ्यासं समाश्रितः ॥[8]

The fact that this outstanding personality hailed from Mahārāṣṭra can hardly be doubted. It is significant to note that Mahadevashastri Patwardhan from Mahārāṣṭra in paying a compliment to his munificence writes in Marathi—

वर्णीं न मो तूज जसा सुवर्णीं तैसां करी पूर्ण मला सुवर्णीं ।
कर्णोपकर्णीं प्रसरो सुवर्णीं त्वत्कीर्त्तिमुक्ताफल जेवि कर्णीं ॥[9]

Verse 251 on p. 39 of *Kavīndracandrodaya* appears to be a conversation between Kavīndrācārya and a Marathi-knowing Paṇḍit, possibly Mahadevashastri Patwardhan:

तन्द्रालु का दिसतसे भवदीय मुद्रा
कां यां न ये कविवरा दिनरात्रि निद्रा ।
सांगेन तूज निजगूज महीमहेन्द्रा
देणें असे मज शतद्वय रौप्यमुद्रा ॥

6. For this see 'The Bhāṣā -Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra of Kavīndrācārya Saraswatī' by Dr. V. G. Rahurkar—*Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, pp. 210—224.

7. For the dispute regarding the name of पुण्यभूमि see foot-note 1 on page iii of Introduction to *Kavīndracandrodaya* by Dr. H. D. Sharma and Mr. Patakar (Poona, 1939).

The opinion of Mr. Shrigondekar regarding पुण्यभूमि as the correct reading is rejected by Dr. V. Raghavan in his article on 'Kavīndrācārya Saraswatī'.

8. Cf. Kavīndra-Kalpadruma of Kavīndra—I. O. Catalogue Pt. VII, No. 3947.

9. *Kavīndracandrodaya*, p. 20, verse 16.

Apart from this, there is sufficient Mss. evidence in support of this fact. As indicated above external evidence of works like *Kavīndra-candrodaya, Kavīndracandrikā* is quite clear on this point. Internal evidence, always more dependable, unmistakably points in the same direction. *Padacandrikā* written by this author offers stylistic evidence and leaves no doubt in this matter.

Padacandrikā[10] is a brief commentary upon the words of *Daśa-kumāracaritam*. In this commentary the author has mentioned many interesting Desi words, with such remarks as इति प्रसिद्धम् or इति लोकप्रसिद्धा. Thus पट्टिश and डिण्डिभ are explained respectively as भाषया पट्टा इति प्रसिद्धः and दाण्डोरा इति प्रसिद्धः. दीपिका and भस्त्रिका are paraphrased by दिवटी and भाता. Sanskrit words उपधान and नागदन्त appear as उशी and ख़ुंटी. While commenting on the words शौङ्गेय and इङ्गुदी the author adds ससाणा इति प्रसिद्ध and भाषया हिंगणबेट इति प्रसिद्धः. For उपदस्तिका and उदंचन in Sanskrit, the author mentions चञ्चवी and डोल respectively. In case of the word व्याम, he takes care to add that it is known as वांव in common language. Now words like चञ्चवी, ससाणा, डोल and वांव cannot be called as literary expressions; they really belong to the stock of Marathi words that are in every-day use. Expressions like चञ्चवी, ढोल and वांव can come from the pen of an author who has Marathi as his mother-tongue; they are not likely to be used by a person who claims even a good acquaintance with Marathi. Thus on the basis of words in *Padacandrikā*, the author undoubtedly turns out to be a resident of Mahārāṣṭra.

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10. Padacandrikā was published in the 15th N. S. P. Editions of *Daśakumāra-caritam*, 1951.

THE TAMIL SOCIETY OF THE SANGAM AGE

By V. PERUMAL*

1. *Introduction*

It is an acknowledged fact that the Tamil Society is noted for its high antiquity. The historical, linguistic, archaeological, literary, numismatic and other evidences corroborate beyond a shadow of doubt the high antiquity of the Tamil Society and its many-sided excellence. The very fact that there are 260 references (16% of the total aphorisms) to ancient literatures in *Tolkāppiyam*, confirms in an unambiguous language the existence of great literary treatises on various branches of knowledge. Unfortunately, all these literatures have been lost due to serious natural calamity. The ancient Tamil Literature extant which is popularly known as the *Sangam Literature,* consists of *Tolkāppiyam* (grammar), *Pattupāṭṭu* (ten Idylls), *Eṭṭutogai* (eight anthologies), *Tirukkural* (ethics), *Silappadikāram* and *Manimekalai* (twin epics). On the basis of the various relevant evidences available, the Sangam Literature can be assigned to the period ranging from 500 B.C. to 200 A.D. This period is generally known as the *Sangam Age* as the Tamil Sangam (Academy) which was patronised by the Pandyan Kings at Madurai has played a very significant role in the literary and cultural fields of Tamil-Nad. The Sangam Literature besides throwing an appreciable flood of light on different branches of knowledge reflects each and every aspect of the Tamil Society. The ancient Tamilians have distinguished themselves in various healthy activities and led a very useful life of a high order. A deep analysis of the Sangam Literature and other relevant sources and records reveals the fact that the ancient Tamil Society was in a very advanced position. It was a society of well-balanced development in titanic proportions. The encomium paid on ancient Tamil-Nad by the foreign personalities is not a hyperbolical statement but a naked truth. An attempt is made in this paper to study analytically the Tamil Society of the Sangam Age with a deep sense of impartiality.

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* K.G.F. First Grade College, Oorgaum, K.G.F.–2. (Mysore State)

2. *Literature*

Tolkāppiyam is not only a grammar in the ordinary sense of the term but a great treatise which deals with almost all the aspects of human activity. *Tolkāppiyam* has clarified each and every point with logical precision and aphoristic brevity. For instance, he points out that one can legitimately feel proud owing to four reasons, viz., learning, valour, fame and charity.

Kalvi Tarukaṉ Isaimai Koḍaiyenaę
Collap paṭṭa Perumidam Nānge.

—*Tolkāppiyam*: *Poruladhikāram*

Tolkāppiyam is the grammatical and literary charter serving as a beacon light throughout the ages of literary history of Tamil-Nad. The Pattuppāṭṭu describes every aspect of the Tamil Society in a picturesque language. The eight anthologies (*Eṭṭutogai*) were compiled and classified on the basis of metre and subject matter. It is needless to mention that the classification was done according to the principles of logical division. Among the eight anthologies, *Natrinai, Kurunthogai, Ainkurunooru, Kalithogai* and *Agananooru* are amatory poetry. *Purananooru* mainly deals with warfare, state-craft, charity and ethics. *Pathitrupathu* gives an account of the Cera Kings and throws a light in fixing the chronological position of the ancient Cera Monarchs. *Paripadal* is a miscellany which deals with love, religion and nature. Thiruvalluvar has given the quintenssence of advanced wisdom in his immortal ethics, *Thirukkural*. *Silappathikaram,* a dramatic epic (tragedy) and *Manimekalai,* a religious epic are treated as twin epics. The former has a greater appeal as 'our sweetest songs are those which tell of saddest thought' (Shelley). The Sangam Literature is a mirror which reflects all the aspects of the ancient Tamil Society. The Sangam poets, who were about 500 in number, touched every branch of knowledge in their pen portraits. Beauty of expression, clarity of thought, brevity in diction, intelligibility of theme, sublimity of idea, nobility of purpose, velocity of appeal, catholicity in character and universality in outlook are the special characteristics of the Sangam Literature. It is almost free from Sanskrit words hybrid style, pedantic phrase and fantastic imagination. The Sangam poets sincerely considered Nature as their teacher. They received inspiration from Nature and described her beauty in a mellifluous language with aesthetic excellence.

3. *Education*

From time immemorial, education is considered to be the infalliable wealth. The very fact that Tiruvalluvar, who was very brief in his treatment, has alloted many chapters dealing with various aspects of education, corroborates the sublime values of education. Tiruvalluvar has divided the entire faculties into two main divisions, viz., Arts and Science. Mathematics—the queen of sciences and letters—the basis of arts are the two faculties pointed out by Tiruvalluvar. He has indicated in an unerring language the universality of education. In other words, Mathematics and letters are the two eyes for each and every human being under the Sun.

Eṇṇenba Enai Eḷuttenba Ivvirandum
Kaṇṇenba Vāḷum uyirkku.

—(*Kural* 392)

The learned author has indicated briefly but very clearly the various aims of education, knowledge aim (*Kural* 396), social aim (140) moral aim (134), philosophical aim (354), spiritual aim (2), cultural aim (997) and living aim (391) are some of the important aims of education dealt with in Tirukkural. According to Tiruvalluvar, teaching has four stages, viz., feeling the pulse of the students, grasping the subject to be taught, simplifying the subject, and appealing and inspiring presentation. (*Kural* 424, 711). To all intents and purposes an uneducated man is no better than an animal (410). Tolkappiyar mentions general education and technical education in one of his aphorisms in Tolkāppiyam.

Vāyinum Kaiyinum Vakutta Pakkamodu.

Agathinai iyal (Aphorism No. 44) Pandyan Nedunchezhian, the King Poet, gives a vivid pen portrait of the glory of learning. The sum and substance of his poem (*Purananooru* 183) is that an educated man, however low may be his social position, will be respected even by the ruler of the land. The poets of the Sangam Age have educated the kings as well as the ordinary people. They gave the rulers sound advice on various matters at the appropriate occasions and played a remarkable role in the educational field of

1. Tolkappiyam, *Poruladhikāram* (Kazagam Edition, June, 1953).

ancient Tamil-Nad. Teaching was considered as the noblest and the most respectable profession. In short, the ancient Tamils did not consider education as a means to earn bread and butter but realised that it was for life, through life and throughout life.

4. *Society*

Society consists of men, women and children. According to Tamil, the word *'man'* has various shades of meaning. Though generally it refers to the masculine gender among human beings, it specially connotes a person who has the power of control. Spiritually speaking, man is expected to control his sense and attain spiritual mastery. The term 'woman' apart from its primary meaning, has a special connotation. The word *'peṇṇ'* which means woman, has derived from the root *'petpu'* signifying "love", "desire" etc. The implication is, woman is a professor of all the amicable qualities and hence she is lovable. Children are considered to be the wealth of the parents and a source of enjoyment.[2]

The ancient Tamil Society was divided into many divisions. The divisions were made not to create any disparity or inequality among the people but to direct them to embrace different occupations for the smooth sailing of the society. As a matter of fact, the classification was made on the principle of division of labour. The ancient Tamils have realised and recognized the dignity of labour.

There was perfect social equality between man and woman. In certain respects, woman was respected to a greater degree. A chaste woman was not only paid social respects but viewed with a deep sense of divine veneration. She was placed on par with God.

'Uraiśāl Pattinikku uyarndor Ettalum.'[3]

Milk of human kindness was considered as a fundamental social affinity and there was a perfect harmonious co-existence. Man without social culture was placed among the dead.[3a]

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2. *Kural* 61, 65, 66; *Purananooru*, 188.
3. *Silappathigaram* : *Padhigaml*, 56.
3a. Kural 214.

'Divide and consume' was the social ethics envisaged and actualised by Tamils of the Sangam Age. The temples served the purpose of social institutions and people assembled and mixed with each other with perfect social liberty, equality and fraternity.

The purpose of friendship is to help each other says Thiruvalluvar. Give and take policy was considered as one of the main social principles on which smooth social intercourse could be made. Unity in diversity and social catholicity were the special features of the society of the Sangam Age.

5. *Matrimonial*

Marriage was considered as a sacred rite of the union of two hearts. Matrimonial process had two stages, viz., Pre-marital and postmarital and sanctity was maintained throughout the process. There was complete indentification of husband and wife in their walk of life. The purpose of marriage is not only to enjoy sensual pleasure but also to do charity with a deep sense of fellow feeling.[4] Woman was given the highest place in society in general and home in particular. The Tamil word *Illal* which ordinarily means wife has a special connotation. The word can be split conveniently into two distinct units, viz., '*il*' and '*al*' meaning thereby the ruler of the home. So, it is crystal clear that the wife was not only treated as a partner of the man but the ruler of the home and the better half in the real sense of the term. The love experienced by the married couple was not a lust or sensual craving but a tender feeling of a high order. Thiruvalluvar has rightly pointed out that such a love is tenderer than the flower.[5] Various aspects of harmony between husband and wife were indicated by Tholkappiar.

Pirappe Kuḍimai Āṇmai Āṇḍoḍu
Uruvu Nirutta Kāma Vāyil
Niraiye Aruḷe unarvoḍu Tiruvena
Muraiyurak Kiḷanda oppinadu vagaīye

(*Tolkāppiam*)

3b. Puram 163.

4. Kurunthogai 63, *Kural* 81.

5. *Kural* 1289.

Monogamy was the only moral code accepted by the society.[6] Though prostitution existed, it was looked with contempt by every cultured Tamilian.[7] The marriage functions celebrated during the earlier stage of the Sangam Age were practically free from Āryan influences.[8] "It will be noticed that in this ancient Tamil rite of marriage there is absolutely nothing Āryan, no lighting of fire, no circumambulation of fire and no priest to receive dakṣiṇā," observes P. T. Shrinivasa Iyengar.[9] The matrimonial union was very natural which was based on mutual help and mutual love.

6. *Morality*

Morality was considered as the foundation stone on which the entire human virtues were based. Though the Sangam Literature (except *Kural*) are not ethical in character they have moral view and have the force to inculcate moral sense among the readers. Morality is the right conduct in conformity with all virtues. As morality makes the man great it is his duty to maintain a very high moral standard. Maintaining morality is more important than preserving life.[10] Morality as envisaged by the Sangam Poets has a deeper significance than it is generally understood. Even the thinking of evil thought was considered a serious moral offence. Morality is not only a code of behaviour but a code of life. It is a virtue among virtues and embraces all the sublime ethical maxims. To cite an example, sense of gratitude was considered as an essential quality that should be possessed by every cultured man on the globe. Ingratitude was not only a mere immoral act but an unpardonable sin.[11] The same moral sentiments were voiced by no less a person than Shakespeare:

> 'Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
> thou art not so unkind
> As Man's ingratitude.'[12]
>
> and

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6. *Qural* 1315, *Kurunthogai* 49.
7. Purananooru 73.
8. *Agananooru* 86, 136.
9. *History of Tamils*, p. 80.
10 Kural 131.
11. *Kural* 110; *purananooru* 34.
12. *As You Like It*, 11, 7.

How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is
To have a thankless child.[13]

The term morality which was defined logically and understood precisely by the ancient Tamil savants has a tripartite connotation, viz., purity of thought, word and deed. In short, according to the Sangam Ltierature, morality is not only a view of life but a way of life.

7. *Religion*

All the literary works of the Sangam Age declare in an unambiguous language that Tamilians have a strong faith in the existence of the Almighty. Though the Almighty was mentioned by different names and attributes the ancient Tamils embraced monotheism. The Almighty was described as an embodiment of all the noble virtues.[13a] Though there were many temples of deities, they believed that there is only one ultimate reality, i.e., the all pervading God. This is corroborated by the fact that the Almighty was always mentioned in a singular. Paripadal gives a flash of light on temples. People congregated at temples in order to enjoy peace of mind and spiritual pleasure. They did not pray to God for loaves and fishes but for His divine grace. In other words, they prayed to the Almighty not for their material welfare but for their spiritual uplift.[14] Among the various religious rites that were in vogue the practice of virgins taking bath in the early morning during the cold season in the month of Margazhi (December—January) deserves a special mention. It was popularly known as Thanieeradal and ambaadal. It was a rigid course of spiritual discipline which enabled the virgins to attain a harmonious development of physical cleanliness, mental purity and spiritual sublimation.[15] The ancient Tamils believed in the cycle of birth and death and the result of Karma.

Thirumurugatrupadai clarifies beyond a shadow of doubt that they had a divine mind coupled with aesthetic sense as the result of which they could feel in their heart of hearts spiritual awe and enjoy the sight of cupid (*Lord Murugan*) in the *serene* beauty of

13. *King Lear,* 1, 4.
13a. Kural 9.
14. Paripadal 5: LL 78—81.
15. Paripadal 11 : LL 74—92 & Kalithogai 59.,

the hills and mountains. In such a natural and pleasant atmosphere which was far from the madding crowd they could come nearer to God and have a harmonious spiritual communion. In short, the religion which was embraced by the ancient Tamils, whatever might be its name, was universal in appeal and national in character.

8. *Culture*

The term culture has a deep connotation and a wide denotation. The Tamil culture has four stages touching four aspects, viz., Virtue-ethical, wealth-material, pleasure-emotional, and salvation-spiritual. Though there are differences of opinion regarding the order of the first three, all the Tamil savants are at one regarding the existence and necessity of the four stages. Some of the ancient poets have mentioned and enumerated only the first three, leaving the readers to understand the fourth, viz., salvation by themselves.

'Annilai Marunkin Aṛamuta lākiya
Mummudar Porutkum uriya Enba.'[15a]

Siṛapputai Marabiṛ Poruḷum Inbamum
Aṛttu Vaḷippadūm Totram pola.[16]

Whatever may be the order of the four stages, it is crystal clear that they are all connected harmoniously with each other and train the people to achieve a well-balanced development of their faculties. St Pavananthi, a renowned grammarian of the 13th century, has clarified in an unambiguous language that the purpose of learning is to acquire virtue, wealth, pleasure and salvation.

Aṛam Porul Inpam Veedu Ataidal Noorpayane.

A culture which advocates only materialism cannot uplift humanity. A culture that advocates only spiritualism will prove a Utopian philosophy and be useless for all practical purposes. It is a matter of delight to note that the Tamil culture is a harmonious synthesis of materialism and spiritualism. Wealth and pleasure form the material aspect and virtue and salvation form the

15a. *Tolkappiam*: *Seyyulial* 102.

16. *Purananooru* 31.

spiritual aspect of the Tamil culture. Thiruvalluvar has hit the right nail on the head by saying the man requires wealth and grace in order to enjoy in the material and spiritual world respectively.[17] In short, the Tamil culture consists of all the good qualities which are practicable in reality and noble in outlook.

9. *Athletics*

Physical culture is the basic culture. 'A sound mind in a sound body' was not unknown to the ancient Tamils. A deep perusal of the Sangam Literature will reveal that the Tamils of Yore have participated in various athletic activities with great interest and profound pleasure and improved their physical personality. Well developed physical personality was one of basic qualifications of an ambassador.[18] Physical strength coupled with bravery was considered as a hallmark in the matrimonial field. The young man of the sylvan land (Mullai) had to face the ferocious and strong bull in an organized combat and bring it under his control in order to win a bride for his marriage. The bride would accept only the victor of the contest as her suitable husband. The sportsman who came out with flying colours was appreciated and admired by one and all.[19] The young man was generally mentioned by the name *'bull'* implying thereby he should possess sufficient strength and man power.[20] Apart from the sportsmen of Herculean muscles, the ancient Tamil-Nad has witnessed active and energetic sportswomen who have distinguished themselves in various athletic activities. They were experts in the art of playing ball, swinging, etc., as evidenced from *Silappathikaram*.[21] Men and women dived and swam in the fresh waters of the River Vaigai at Madurai and enjoyed to their hearts content the Kaleidoscopic variety of aquatic activities.[22] Hence it goes without saying that the ancient Tamils took active part in various sports and games and improved their physical skill, talent and strength and led a long life usefully and joyfully.

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17. *Kural* 247.
18. *Kural* 684.
19. *Kalithogai* 101 to 104.
20. *Purananooru* 312.
21. *Silappathikaram* canto 29; stanzas 20 to 25.
22. *Paripadal* 10 : 71—88.

10. *Military*

While enumerating the six state agencies, army was given the first place.[23] It is a well known truth that army alone can defend the country from foreign aggression and maintain peace in the land and uphold the national prestige. Courage coupled with patriotism was the basic qualification of a soldier. Physical strength was considered as an additional qualification. It is an acknowledged psychological truth 'where there is will there is a way.' A keen perusal of the military science revealed in the Sangam Literature discloses the fact that mental aptitude was given a higher priority than the physical fitness at the time of recruitment. Every effort was made to maintain the quality of the army. In other words, the army consisting of a few but the best men was preferred to that of the useless and huge mob. Such is the military secret that has been revealed by Thiruvalluvar.[24] The mother always felt joy and pride when she heard that her son fought the battle with martial spirit and valour.[25] The very expression *'Moodhin Mullai* has a military connotation which refers to the valour of women. Though they did not go to the battle front, they had the military spirit sprung up from their patriotic sentiments. The brave mothers alone can produce the brave soldiers. It was considered an unpardonable and serious disgrace to sustain injuries at the back. On the other hand, sustaining injuries at the chest, however fatal it might be, was considered a unique honour. The battle was fought during the broad day light only by previous arrangement and mutual consent. The special feature of the military etiquette was that the soldiers of the opposition regiment who showed a clean pair of heels were not chased. It was considered a dishonour to chase or attack the runway soldiers. The soldiers who fought and sacrificed their lives at the battlefield were remembered with gratitude. Their statues were installed in their memory[26]

11. *Polity*

The Sangam Age witnessed monarchy. It was neither a tyrannical monarchy not an ordinary one but a benevolent and welfare

23. *Kural* 381.
24. *Kural* 763.
25. *Purananooru* 278.
26. *Ainkurunoor* 352, *Kural* 771, *Purananooru* 232, 260, 306, 329.

monarchy in the real sense of the term. Though the ancient Tamil-Nad was a single nation culturally, there were three political entities, viz., Chera, Chola and Pandya kingdoms. There were also many chieftains who ruled small territories under the control of one of the three monarchs. The king was mentioned by several names among which the term *'Kavalan'* deserves a special analysis. It has two semantic units viz., *'Ka'* (Protect, defend) and *'valan'* (able person) meaning thereby able protector. Hence a king was expected to protect his subjects and defend their faith, virtue, culture etc. The word *'Kavalan'* more or less corresponds to the English term 'Defender of the Faith'. Though the king was the unquestionable gubernatorial authority of the land, he consulted his council of ministers, poets and elder statesmen and took their advice on important issues. The very fact that Thiruvalluvar has devoted 10 chapters (100 couplets) dealing with various important aspects of ministry, corroborates the vital role of council of ministers in the Government. The ancient Tamil kings ruled the land with greater amount of moral responsibility as evidenced from the words of Cheran Senguttuvan.[27] The same thought has been voiced by Shakespeare, 'Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.'[28] The prosperity and virtues of the land entirely depend upon the righteousness of the government. If a king does not govern properly the revenue will diminish and the industries will fail flat.[29] The two terms found in this couplet viz., *apayan* and *aruthozhilor* have been misinterpreted by Parlimelazhagar. *'Apayan'* means source of revenue, aruthozhilor signifies people affiliated to six occupations, viz., agriculture, industries, painting, Commerce, education and sculpture. (*Thivakaramudaiyar* : *Nikantu*).

12. *Economics*

Wealth was considered as one of the four main entities realized by the ancient Tamils. At the individual level, every man worked to earn his daily bread and maintained his family. There are many instances where the husband or lover went to distant places to earn wealth leaving his better half at home. Man was expected

27. *Silappathikaram* 25 : 100–104.
28. Henry IV, II, III, I 31.
29. *Kural* 560.

to render service and work hard.[30] Spending the ancestor's property was considered more shameful than begging.[31] The Chola, Pandya and Chera kings improved agriculture, pearl-fishery, and forest wealth respectively and developed the national economy. They levied reasonable tax. They did not kill the goose that laid the golden eggs. They were fully aware of the fact that they could not increase the national Exchequer by tax alone nor was it desirable. The only way to improve the national economy was to tap new sources and increase the production in every field. Though many industries were in vogue the ancient Tamil-Nad was based on agricultural economy.[32]

Hence it can be said that agriculture is our ancient culture which is capable of driving hunger and disease from the land. Thiruvalluvar has envisaged such a type of land.[33] The economic principles realised by the Tamil Savants were based on sound reason which can stand the test of time. One should live within one's means,[33a] wealth should be earned by righteous means,[b] and purpose of earning money is not to hoard but to distribute it for the welfare of the people[34] are some of the main economic principles involved in Tamil literature. The ancient Tamil cities like Pugar, Madurai etc., were the seats of fabulous wealth. Many poets embraced some occupation or other and maintained the dignity of labour. Idleness was viewed with contempt and labour, whatever might be its nature, was observed with great respect. Inequality among various occupations was not felt. In short, the economic history of the ancient Tamils can be summed up as: they worked hard, earned well and spent usefully and enjoyed their life.

13. *Commerce*

It is an acknowledged historical fact that ancient Tamil-Nad had commercial intercourse with different countries of the world. Exports and imports of various commodities were in full swing. Kaviripoompattinam was not only a great sea port of the Chola

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30. *Kurunthogai* 135.
31. *Kurunthogai* 283.
32. *Kural* 1032.
33. *Kural* 734.
33a. Kural 478.
33b. Kural 755.
34. *Purananooru* 189.

kingdom but also an international emporium with a cosmopolitan atmosphere.[35] The Chera country exported pepper to Greece and Rome by ships and in return she received bullions of gold. Musiri was a port of the Chera land, full of commercial activities.[35a] Imayavaranban and Chenguttuvan improved the foreign trade. Exchange of articles was the special feature in the field of trade and commerce. For instance, paddy the (produce of the arable land) and salt (of the littoral tract) were exchanged commercially.[36] The famous market at Madurai in the Pandyan Capital was planned so perfectly that every row was assigned to a particular catagory of commodity. There was a flag with a specific emblem indicating the article sold in the shop. There were day markets and evening markets in Madurai where all the articles under the sun were sold. The merchants were given moral encouragement in their commercial enterprise by the kings. The successful merchants were honoured with the title 'Etti'. They enjoyed recognition from every section of the society. The speciality of the trade and commerce of ancient Tamil-Nad was that each and every code of commercial ethics was respected in practical life. Perfect justice was maintained in every commercial transaction.[37] Thiruvalluvar has indicated precisely the inevitability of righteousness in the field of commerce.[38] In fine, commerce and trade flourished in such a handsome manner because they were based on perfect virtue and completely free from black-marketing, food adulteration and other malpractices. This was the only secret for the glorious success of the ancient Tamil merchants.

14. *Industries*

The ancient Tamil-Nad witnessed various industries which determined the economio standard of the country. Small scale cottage industries flourished in every village of the land. Various metal works, carpentry, weaving, tailoring, leather works, and manufacture of variety of instruments characterized the industrial field of ancient Tamil-Nad. Among these industries, weaving occupied the most outstanding position. In fact, weaving

35. *Pattinapalai* LL. 213–218.
35a. Agananooru 149.
36. Agananooru 140.
37. *Pattinapalai* LL 206–212.
38. *Kural* 120.

was second only to agriculture. The commentary in Silappadhikaram throws a flood of light on 36 varieties of cloths manufactured in the Sangam Age.[39] A linguistic analysis of all the words referring to cloth will reveal the significant role of ancient textiles. For instance, thuni, thundu, vetti, sela, koadi, pudavai, thugil, koorai, kalingam, vudai, vudukai, vuduppu, adai, meyppai, chattai, seelai, pavadai, kachai, angiravikkai, kovanam, kandangi, pagai, thirai, mukkadu, thavani, noolakkalingam, poarvai, vattu, methai, summadu, padam, merkattirattuthuni, kodi, vuri, parvattam, aruvai, seerai, ponnadai, paruthi, pattu, panjandai, venpanjadai, are some of the terms which connote either the cloth in general or a particulr kind of cloth. Almost all the above words are found in the Sangam Literature. The various similies which are employed in the description of the texture of cloth corroborate beyond a shadow of doubt the excellence and fineness of quality. Textile industry was not the monopoly of men. Women too, took an active part in the industries. The women weavers were known as *'Paruthi Pendir.*[40] There was a particular colony at Madurai which was occupied by weavers. It was popularly known as *'aruvai Veedhi'*.[41] A part of Mayavaram (Thanjavur District) is to-day known as Keranad, a word derived from *Koorai nadu,* which means the land of textiles. There is another village near Kumbakonam in the same district by the name 'Thugili' which has derived from the word *'thugil'* which means cloth. Even to-day it proves a small textile centre. Industries in general and textiles in particular flourished in ancient Tamil-Nad. To all intents and purposes, textiles (cloth) was placed on par with agriculture (food).[42] There is every reason to think that in Malaya, Tamilians are mentioned as *'Kileng',* a word that has derived from *Kalingam,* because ancient Tamil-Nad has exported cloths to eastern countries in large quantity.

15. *Fine Arts*

The Tamil culture was classified into three parts, viz., literature, music and drama (*Muthamizh*). It is a unique feature of the Tamil culture. The human faculty consists of intellectual,

39. *Silappadhikaram* 14 : 106—112 commentary of *Adiyarkunallar.*
40. *Purananooru* 125, 326.
41. *Silappathikaram* 14 : 207.
42. *Purananooru* 189.

emotional and physical aspects. They are known as thinking, feeling and willing respectively. The intellectual faculty blossoms into literature, the emotional part results in music and the physical aspect leads to drama. Music and drama come under the jurisdiction of fine arts. Music, which occupies the central position, serves a harmonious link between literature and drama. The word *'isai'* which implies music has a signficant meaning. It means to make the audience yield. To amplify it, music should have a melodious capacity and a harmonious appeal to the very core of the heart of the audience and create immense pleasure.[43] The very fact that all the Sangam literatures are in the form of poetry indicates clearly that the ancient Tamil writers had a musical bent of mind. The sentiments as well as thoughts were expressed through the metrical medium. The four main metrical forms viz., venba, agaval, vanji and Kalippa are based on perfect music. There were three main categories of musical instruments viz., wind instrument, string instrument and percussion instrument represented by flute (Kuẓal) lyre (yāẓ) and drum (Muẓavu) respectively. The unique feature of these three words is that the special letter ẓ which is peculiar to Tamil is found in every word. Hence it corroborates the high antiquity of Tamil music. Tolkappiyam and Perssiriyer's commentary throw an ample light on technicalities of drama. *Silappadḥikaram,* an epic in tripartitie Tamil gives a Kaleidoscopic variety of music, dance, aesthetics and drama. The Canto on *Arangettram* and the *commentaries* on it form a book of knowledge in fine arts. Painting was one of the fine arts which deserves a special mention. Paripadal gives a detail of paintings on various themes. The sketh was known as Punya Ovium.[44] Apart from these, fine arts, sculpture, embroidery and various types of workmanship were in vogue. The various fine arts that flourished proclaim to the world the emotional development and aesthetic advancement of the Tamils of yore.

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43. *Poranaratruppadai* LL 21-22.

44 *Manimekalai* 16 : 131.

VEDIC SOURCES OF THE ŚĀRṄGAKA LEGEND OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

By RAM GOPAL*

The *Mahābhārata,* which is a veritable store-house of ancient Indian lore, has considerably drawn upon the Vedic literature; and numerous legends, names, metres and grammatical forms found in the *Mahābhārata* trace their origin to Vedic sources. It appears that either the author of the *Mbh.* is so deeply versed in the Vedic lore that vedic ideas and phrases readily present themselves to his mind and figure in his writings, or he makes a deliberate attempt to display his Vedic erudition in his writings as often as he can. The "Śārṅgaka Upākhyāna" of the *Mbh.* provides a tangible instance of Vedic influence on the Epic.

According to the *Mbh. I,* 228–232, the Śārṅgaka legend is briefly as follows:—

A learned sage named *Mandapāla* who had performed great austerities observing celibacy went to the world of the Fathers after his death, but he found there that the worlds won through his austerities were devoid of all rewards and pleasures. On his inquiries the gods advised him to beget offspring to reap the fruits of his austerities. In order to beget abundant progency in a short time Mandapāla approached birds abounding in offspring. Having assumed the form of a *Śārṅgaka* bird, he took a female bird (*Śārṅgikā*) named Jaritā as his spouse and begot four sons who were versed in the sacred lore (*Brahmavādinaḥ*). Then he forsook Jaritā together with her four sons and allied with another female bird named Lapitā. When the god Agni, aided by Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, began to burn the Khāṇḍava forest, Mandapāla became apprehensive of the safety of his sons and prayed to Agni who promised to spare his sons. Meanwhile, Jaritā who was frightened by the conflagration advised her sons to take shelter in a nearby hole made by mice. The sons did not accept her advice and requested her to fly away for her safety. After Jaritā had flown away leaving them to their fate, each of the four sons, viz. Jaritāri,

* Reader in Sanskrit, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

Sārisṛkva, Stambamitra and Droṇa, praised the god Agni in separate stanzas for their safety. As already promised to Mandapāla, the god Agni did not burn the four sons of Mandapāla. Thus the main story narrates how the lives of the four sons of the sage Mandapāla wa spared by the god Agni as a result of prayers offered to the god.

Many constituents of this legend are clearly traceable to various sources in Vedic literature. According to the *Bṛhaddevatā* and the *Sarvānukramaṇī* of Kātyāyana, the four Śārṅga Ṛṣis, who composed two stanzas each of the Ṛgvedic Hymn X, 142 addressed to Agni, are known by the names of Jaritṛ, Droṇa, Sārisṛkva and Stambamitra.[1] The Mbh. mentions Jaritā (a norminal stem ending in ā) as the name of Mandapāla's wife and Jaritāri as the name of his eldest son, whereas Jaritṛ (a nominal stem ending in ṛ) is the name of one of the four Ṛṣis of the above-mentioned Hymn according to the *Sarvānukramāṇī*. Excepting for this discrepancy, there is complete agreement between the *Mbh.* and the *Sarvānukramaṇī* in regard to the names of the remaining three Śārṅga sages, viz. Droṇa, Sārisṛkva and Stambamitra.

Several verses of the *Mbh.* attributed to the abovementioned four sons of Mandapāla agree in substance with some stanzas of the Ṛgvedic Hymn X, 142. The main idea contained in the *RV.* X, 142, 1 is found in the *Mbh.* I, 231, 9.[2] The *Mbh.* verses (I, 231,

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1. *Bṛhaddevatā* VIII, 54– आग्नेयं वैश्वदेवं च अयमित्यत्र तु द्वृचाः ।
शार्ङ्गाश्चत्वार ऋषयो अग्निमार्चन्पृथक्पृथक् ॥

Sarvānukramaṇī about *RV.* X, 142– अयमष्टौ द्वृचाः शार्ङ्गा जरिता द्रोणः सारिसृक्वः स्तंबमित्रश्चाग्नेयमाद्ये जगत्यौ चतस्रश्च त्रिष्टुभः ।

In place of सारिसृक्वः the variant reading सारिसृक्तः and सारिसृक्कः are also found, but Macdonell has accepted the reading सारिसृक्वः on good authority.

2. *RV.* X, 142, 1–

अयमग्ने जरिता त्वे अभूदपि सहसः सूनो नह्यऽन्यदस्त्याप्यम् ।
भद्रं हि शर्म त्रिवरूथमस्ति त आरे हिंसानामप दिद्युमा कृधि ॥

Mbh. I, 231, 9–

माता प्रणष्टा पितरं न विद्मः पक्षा जाता नैव नो धूमकेतो ।
न नस्त्राता विद्यते वै त्वदन्यस्तस्मादस्मांस्त्राहि बालांस्त्वमग्ने ॥

17—19) contain some phrases and ideas similar to those found in the *RV.* X, 142, 7-8.[3]

It is worth mentioning that some epic verses, which bear no resemblance to the Ṛgvedic verses, closely resemble in wording and thought certain Mantras of the *Yajurveda-Saṃhitās.*[4] It is quite likely that the author of the *Mbh.* skilfully blended together the ideas and phrases contained in different texts to show off his scholarship. Moreover, some popular Vedic ideas concerning the functions and attributes of the god Agni, which are found scattered all over the Vedic literature, are presented in the *Mbh.* in very simple stanzas.[5]

Despite the above-noted parallels between the *Mbh.* and the Vedic works mentioned above, there is absolutely no trace of the legend of the *Mbh.* referred to above in Vedic literature. However, Sāyaṇa sees a reference to the Śārṅgaka legend in the Ṛgvedic Hymn

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3. *RV.* X, 142, 7-8—

अपामिदं न्ययनं समुद्रस्य निवेशनम् ।
अन्यं कृणुष्वेतः पन्थां तेन याहि वशाँ अनु ॥
आयने ते परायणे दूर्वा रोहन्तु पुष्पिणीः ।
ह्रदाश्च पुण्डरीकाणि समुद्रस्य गृहा इमे ॥

Mbh. I, 231, 17—19—

त्वत्त एताः पुनः शुक्र वीरुधो हरितच्छदाः ।
जायन्ते पुष्करिण्यश्च सुभद्रश्च महोदधिः ॥
इदं वै सद्म तिग्मांशो वरुणस्य परायणम् ।
शिवस्त्राता भवास्माकं मास्मानद्य विनाशय ॥
पिङ्गाक्ष लोहितग्रीव कृष्णवर्त्मन् हुताशन ।
परेण परेहि मुञ्चास्मान्सागरस्य गृहानिव ॥

4. अपामिदं न्ययनं समुद्रस्य निवेशनम् ।
अन्यं ते अस्मत्तपन्तु हेतयः पावको अस्मभ्यं शिवो भव ॥

VS. 17, 7; *TS.* IV, 6, 1, 3; *MS.* II, 10, 1; *Āśv. Ś. S.* II, 12 : 84. KS. 17, 17 reads विमोचनम् in place of निवेशनम् ।

Mbh. I, 231, 10— यदग्ने ते शिवं रूपं ये च ते सप्त हेतयः ।
तेन नः परिपाहि त्वामार्त्तान्वै शरणैषिणः ॥

Cf. *Mbh.* I, 231, 18 cd in footnote 3.

Cf. *Mbh.* I, 228, 23—30; I, 231, 7—19.

X, 142 and explains it accordingly.[6] Following Sāyaṇa, Sieg also sees a connection between the epic legend and the Ṛgvdic Hymn in question and attempts to elucidate the difficult stanzas of the Hymn with the help of this legend.[7] If we accept Sāyaṇa's view on the relationship between the epic legend and the Ṛgvedic Hymn X, 142, it would pose a serious problem about the relative chronology of the *RV*. and the *Mbh.*, and would suggest that the Hymn in question was composed after the incident of *Khāṇḍava* conflagration. Though we always have an open mind on all questions concerning the chronology of the ancient Indian texts, yet there is nothing in the Vedic literature to indicate that the legend of Mandapāla and his four sons was in any way known to the authors of any Vedic texts. There is no reference of any kind to any character of this legend in the Vedas. The word *Jaritā*[8] is a nominative singular of the nominal stem *Jaritṛ* which is simply a common noun signifying 'a singer' and is not a proper noun as construed in the epic legend. Excepting for this word, there is nothing in this Hymn to suggest that it has got any connection with the legend. Stanzas 1—6 of the Hymn are addressed as praises and prayers to Agni, while the last two stanzas (7 & 8) of the Hymn, which differ from the preceding ones in metre style and tenor, are found with some variants in the later Saṃhitās also.[9] About these two stanzas of the Hymn, Griffith remarks:—"Stanzas 7 and 8 seem to belong to some other hymn, being a prayer to Agni that he may spare the speaker's house, where, he says, there is nothing to invite the devouring God."[10]

There is, however, one noteworthy feature of the *RV*. X, 142, which has got some relevance to the epic legend under reference.

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6. Sāyaṇa on *RV*. X, 142, 7— "इत्थं खाण्डववनस्य दाहे प्रवृत्तमग्निं जरितृप्रभृतयः स्वात्मनो रक्षणकामास्तुष्टुवुः ।"

7. Emil Sieg, "*Die Sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda und die indische Itihāsatradition,*" Stuttgart 1902, pp. 44—50.

8. RV. X. 142. 1.

9. Cf. *AV*. VI, 106, 1-2—

आयने ते परायणे दूर्वा रोहतु पुष्पिणी ।
उत्सो वा तत्र जायतां ह्रदो वा पुण्डरीकवान् ॥
अपामिदं न्ययनं समुद्रस्य निवेशनम् ।
मध्ये ह्रदस्य नो गृहाः पराचीना मुखा कृधि ॥

See footnotes 3 and 4.

10. Griffith's English Translation of the *RV*., page 587, footnote.

The verses occurring in this Hymn are prescribed by various ritual authorities as charms for warding off the danger of fire. The *Ṛgvidhāna* (IV, 11, 1) prescribes the recitation of this Hymn in a ritual intended to dispel the fear of fire. The last two verses of this Hymn, which occur in the *AV.* also with some variants (see footnotes 3 & 8), are prescribed by the *Kauśika Sūtra* in a ritual for removing the danger of fire from the house.[11]

In the light of the evidence adduced above, it may be safely assumed that the author of the *Mbh.*, who was probably conversant with various Vedic traditions concerning the above-mentioned Mantras, adroitly wove their import into his epic legend; and that the epithet *Śārṅga*, which is employed in all probability as a *Gotra* name by the *Bṛhaddevatā* and the *Sarvānukramaṇī* for the four Ṛṣis of the *RV.* X, 142, provided a cue to the author of the *Mbh.* to transform the four Ṛṣis into the four birds (*Śārṅgakas*) of the epic legend. It is also not unlikely that a similar legend handed down by oral tradition formed the basis of this legend embodied in the *Mbh.* In any case there is nothing to corroborate Sāyaṇa's view that the *RV.* X, 142 traces its origin to the epic legend concerning the *Khāṇḍava* conflagration. On the contrary, all available evidence points to the conclusion that the *RV.* Hymn in question has been drawn upon by the author of the *Mbh.* for the composition of the *Śārṅgaka legend.*

ABBREVIATIONS

Āśv. Ś.S.	—Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
AV.	—Atharvaveda.
KS.	—Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā.
Mbh.	—Mahābhārata.
MS.	—Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā.
RV.	—Ṛgveda.
TS.	—Taittirīya-Saṁhitā.
VS.	—Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā.

11. *Kauśika Sūtra* 52, 5–7– श्रायन इति शमनमन्तरा ह्रदं करोति । शाले च । श्रवकया शालां परितनोति ।

Cf. Sāyaṇa on *AV.* VI, 106, 1– अनेन अग्निकृतबाधस्यात्यन्ताभावः प्रार्थितः ।"

Cf. Griffith's remarks as noted above.

VOPADEVA AND HEMĀDRI ON BHAKTIRASA

By Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy

जयन्ति वोपदेवस्य वाचो विद्वत्सु संस्तुताः।
घनसारोज्ज्वलाभासाः क्षीरोदस्येव वीचयः ।[1]

—Madhusūdana Sarasvatī

I

In the history of Indian Literature, we see the pride of place accorded to religious works in the beginning. After the Vedas which are invested with unique scriptural authority, we come across the epics, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, which in their own way give expression to the religious emotion. However secular they might have been in their *ur*-from, they soon gathered accretions applauding Rāmabhakti and Kṛṣṇabhakti. The movement of Bhakti is seen gathering momentum in the *Purāṇas* until it reaches the summit in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the bible of Bhāgavata religion.

At the same time, we also see the rise and growth of secular literature in the atmosphere of royal courts. Our classical playwrights like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Śūdraka, as well as poets like Bhāravi and Māgha, and even prose-writers like Bāṇa, no doubt show an intimate awareness of and high regard for the vast religious literature and even adapt some of their themes from that source; but their art or poetic diction is something quite new. The ornate and sophisticated Kāvya style in Sanskrit is influenced more and more by the rules of rhetoricians; and in the treatment of themes the poets are more secular than religious.

A study of the rules of poetic theory from Bhāmaha to Jagannātha will reveal how the theorists were concerned all the time only with the cultivated Kāvya literature and went to the extent of denying the title of Kāvya to religious literature despite their deference

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* Professor & Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Karnatak University, Dharwar.

1. See Commentary on *Harilīlāmṛtaṁ* of Vopadeva, Chowkhamba Edn., Benares, 1932.

to it. *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* were a class by themselves; they were not Kāvya. Similarly systems of philosophy like Vedānta, however valuable their teachings, were clearly distinguished from Kāvya. They were all śāstra; but not Kāvya, because they lacked Rasa, the unique soul of Kāvya. Neither Bharata, the father of the Rasa theory, nor any of his numerous commentators from Lallaṭa to Abhinavagupta conceive of the possibility of any Rasa in the *Vedas, Itihāsas* or *Purāṇas.*

The history of the Rasa concept in Sanskrit poetics is very interesting in as much as it shows secular and aesthetic foundations, getting coloured in course of time by spiritual and religious considerations. The original text of Bharata's *Nāṭya śāstra,* knows only of eight rasas, which are all secular; and the addition of Śānta into the text, whether by Udbhaṭa or any other authority, is characteristic of the later attitude of finding a place for a poetic rasa corresponding to the highest puruṣārtha, viz., mokṣa, ostensibly. The *summum bonum* was held in ancient times to be the concern of only a few and in literature which catered to the entertainment of the many, mokṣa could not have any central place. In the classical definition of Rasa propounded by Bharata and accepted by later theorists, universal and basic sentiments alone viz., love and anger, fear and sorrow, mirth and repulsion, wonder and disgust were counted as providing scope for rasa or aesthetic delight when developed at length in drama or poetry with suitable conditions, viz., proper settings and resultant emotions and feelings (vibhāvas and anubhāvas). The sthāyibhāva, then is a basic pre-requisite of rasa and there can be no rasa without it. Though the gamut of human emotions, feelings and moods (bhāvas) is vast, Kāvya-rasa is possible only in the treatment of the primary sentiments (sthāyibhāvas) which are not only rooted in human nature but also capable of governing a worldly personality as long as a life-time. It is obvious, then, that the lives of saints devoted to the pursuit of mokṣa, however adorable, fall outside the scope of aesthetic rasas capable of general appeal. There was no denying that detachment or tranquility *tṛṣṇā-kṣaya* or *śama* was a human bhāva or emotion; only it was not a universal sthāyibhāva. Such was the orthodox view.

But existing literature like the *Mahābhārata* with its *Bhagavadgītā* posed a challenge to the theorists. It could not be explained in terms of the Rasa theory unless Śānta was admitted, and a sthāyibhāva like śama was added to the list of existing eight.

It was therefore admitted by authorities like Ānandavardhana. But Abhinavagupta who was something of a saint also besides being a thinker on the philosophy of art, went much further and said that Śānta alone is Rasa *par excellence* and all the other rasas are but variations thereof.

II

Corresponding to the new philosophy of Rasa in which Śānta was given the supreme status as the essence of all rasas, the question of Bhakti remained to be discussed at length and its status decided in textbooks on poetics. Though Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta were both admirers of Bhakti or the religious sentiment or of devotion,[2] though it is certain that they were familiar with the vast Bhakti literature in Sanskrit, they did not envisage Bhakti to come anywhere in their Rasa-scheme. That was because in their time Bhakti was possibly reckoned as an indirect means to mokṣa the place of direct means being reserved for wisdom or jñāna. Bhakti might possibly quicken the dawn of wisdom which ushered in *Brahmānanda*, but was not itself of the nature of ānanda or bliss. Ancient theorists like Daṇḍin had no doubt noted in their *Preyas Alaṅkāra*, the effusion of devotion resulting in delight, even as sentiments like paternal love (vātsalya) and friendship (Sneha). But since Preyas is distinct from *'rasavat'*, in their analysis as well as in the aesthetic philosophy of the new school, they could all be properly explained as bhāvas only, since the love of the sexes alone constituted the sthāyibhāva of rati. The status of bhakti in the New School was only that of Bhāva and never that of Rasa. And this classical view held the field as late as Dhanañjaya, Mammaṭa and Jagannātha. Neither Rudrata nor Bhoja who counted new rasas did anything to improve the status of Bhakti.

But the credit of re-examining the status of Bhakti in all its bearings should go to Vopadeva, the author of the *Muktāphala*, which has been published with Hemādri's commentary, *Kaivalyadīpikā* in the Calcutta Oriental Series in 1944. The *Muktāphala* was

2. Cf. Ānandavardhana's verse—

या व्यापारवती रसान् रसयितुं काचित्कवीनां न वा
दृष्टिर्या परिनिष्ठितार्थविषयोन्मेषा च वैपश्चिती।
ते द्वे अप्यवलम्ब्य विश्वमनिशं निर्वर्णयन्तो वयं
श्रान्ता नैव च लब्धमब्धिशयन त्वद्भक्तितुल्यं सुखम् ॥

—Quoted in the *Dhvanyāloka*.

written under Rāmarāja, the Yādava king of Devagiri (modern Daulatabad near Aurangabad) in about 1250 A.D. Hemādri was Vopadeva's contemporary and patron and is famous as the author of the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*.[3] Whether the commentary also is from Vopadeva's pen though it is ascribed to Hemādri is a point difficult to decide. While explaining selected quotations from the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, Vopadeva and Hemādri make out a brilliant case for the recognition of Bhakti as the Rasa *par excellence*, the well-known nine being only so many variations of Bhaktirasa only in so far as the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* at least is concerned.

Modern scholars like S. K. De and P. V. Kane have nothing to say about Vopadeva and Hemādri in their histories of Sanskrit poetics. Dr. V. Raghavan in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* makes just a passing rerer-ence to Hemādri's reference to Bhoja's new rasas. In these circum-stances, the commonly prevalent view is that the plea for Bhakti-rasa was advocated only by late Vaiṣṇava authors from Bengal like Rūpa-gosvāmin, Jīvagosvāmin as late as the 16th century, not to speak of the still later Madhusudana Sarasvati.[4]

Vopadeva and Hemādri are not only conversant with the classical views of literary theorists like Bhoja, Dhanañjaya, Mammaṭa and Hemachandra, but also critical of these. They brilliantly point out that the *Bhāgavata* is explicit in characterising any kind of mental attachment to the Lord as Bhakti and that every episode in the *Purāṇa* is illustrative of it in one or the other of its eighteen forms. The subsequent literature not only in Sanskrit but in modern Indian languages like Marathi, Bengali, Hindi and Kannaḍa, amply justify the stand of Vopadeva and Hemādri. We soon see the element of devotion coming to assert itself in the realm of popular narrative poetry despite the rules of orthodox poetics denying Bhakti a place among the Kāvya-rasas.

The philosophical analysis of Bhakti given by Vopadeva and Hemādri arrests our attention and merits our appreciation. The heroes and heroines of the usual nine rasas, themselves become so many kinds of bhaktas when they enter into relation with Lord Kṛṣṇa. The Gopis represent the two varieties of Śṛṅgāra, hāsya etc. The wailings of Arjuna, Uddhava, etc. at the demise of Kṛṣṇa illus-trate the Karuṇa rasa of the bhakta. Hiraṇyakaśipu and Śiśupāla are

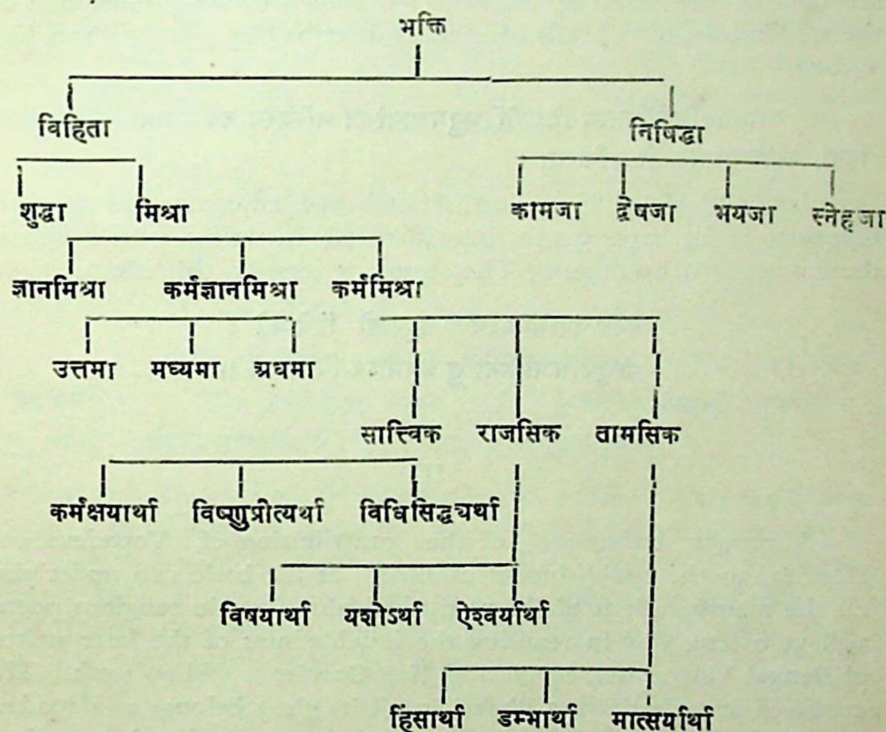
3. See P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I., p. 354 ff.

4. Cf. (1) S. K. De, *I. H. Q.* Vol. VIII.

(2) A. K. Guha, *Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume III.*

examples of Raudra-rasa. The symbols of Bhayānaka are Kaṁsa etc., seers like Nārada provide examples of śānta rasa. Similarly we see Vīra in characters like Bali, Bībhatsa in Purūravas and Adbhuta in Akrūra and Prahlāda. All these characters share human emotions without losing their intrinsic status of bhaktas. Whether fighting with the Lord as Kaṁsa or doting upon him as the Gopīs, they are all devotees alike. That is Bhāgavata religion. Such a modified view of Bhakti-rasa alone can explain the unfailing general appeal of a vast body of later Indian literature.[5]

Nor is it all. The philosophy of Bakti propounded by Vopadeva and Hemādri supplies also the philosophical foundation for the varieties of possible Bhakti, linking them with the three guṇas or essential aspects of nature and human nature, viz. sattva, rajas and tamas.[6] In all, there are 18 forms of Bhakti which can be expressed conveniently in a tabular form:—



5. Cf. स नवधा भक्तः । भक्तिरसस्यैव हास्यश्रृङ्गार-करुण-रौद्र-भ नक-बीभत्स-शान्ताद्भुत-वीररूपेणानुभवात् । —*Op. Cit.*, p. 164.

6. ते चामी नवापि सुखदुःखमोहात्मकत्रैगुण्यव्यतिकरोद्भवाः । तथा हि प्रथमे त्रयो रजोमूलाः । मध्यास्तु तमोमूलाः चरमे सत्त्वमूला इति । Loc. cit.

Of these, śuddhā alone is Perfect Bhakti and it is vihitā or prescribed by scripture. It is attainable only by Perfect Sages. Thirteen are the varieties which are miśra or mixed, either with jñāna alone or karma alone or both. All karma or action involves one or the other of Nature's guṇas, and while sattva fosters good, rajas is drawn by ambition and tamas prefers violence and show, even while following scriptural injunction. And departure from the prescribed life also includes relationship with the Lord by way of passion, hatred, fear or friendship. While such an explication of Bhakti is wide enough to include even the atheist and the ignorant under its fold, it can, at the same time, raise the bliss of Bhakti to a status superior to that of mokṣa itself, in its perfect state..

What then, is Bhakti-rasa? The answer is easy now. It is the experience of delight brought about by hearing or reading the accounts of the Lord or the Lord's devotees, coming under one of the well-known nine heads of rasa, as described by great authors like Vyāsa:

व्यासादिभिर्वर्णितस्य विष्णोर्विष्णुभक्तानां वा चरित्रस्य नवरसात्मकस्य श्रवणादिना जनितश्चमत्कारो भक्तिरसः ।

Vopadeva and Hemādri opine that one's own enjoyment of religious literature is far superior to that involved in seeing even religious dramas enacted by others. They quote a verse to this effect:

कविवागभिनेयश्च तदुपायो द्विधेष्यते ।
वस्तुशक्तिमहिम्ना तु प्रथमोऽत्र विशिष्यते ।।

III

A proper estimation of the contribution of Vopadeva and Hemādri to the establishment of Bhakti as the basic rasa underlying all the manifestations of the recognised nine rasas in religious poetry will go a long way in realising the indebtedness of the later writers of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, Rūpa and Jīva Gosvāmin and so forth. The credit of first vindicating Bhakti in all its glory belongs to Vopadeva and Hemādri of the 13th century. It is wrong to give that credit to his followers. The influence of Vopadeva and Hemādri on the succeeding writers extends even to details as a study of works like *Bhakti-*

7. Loc. cit. p. 167.

rasāmṛta-sindhu,[8] *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*[9] and *Bhagavadbhaktirasāyana*[10] will bear out.

There is, however, one important difference between Vopadeva and later Vaiṣṇava writers. The gosvāmins and Madhusūdana regard Śṛṅgāra as the rasa-rāja or the best of all rasas. Vopadeva does not share this view.[11] The erotic excesses indulged in by some later Vaiṣṇava poets could well have been saved if Vopadeva's views were heeded betimes. Eroticism can only be a concession to mass psychology; and is surely not entitled in itself to be regarded as the best form of Bhakti :

Even our rapid survey has shown how the centre of gravity shifted from secular or aesthetic values to religious value in the assessment of literary works by the 13th century. The establishment of Bhaktirasa, not as an additional tenth rasa, but as the only rasa at the root of all the rest, shows how popular feeling and scholarly opinion combined to give a greater place to religious literature than secular poetry at about 1250 A.D. This is a signal contribution of Deccan to the history of criticism in India.

The importance of the contribution was realised so much by scholars that the anonymous *Bhakti-sūtra* text, viz., *Bhaktimīmāṁsā* published by Dr. Gopi Natha Kaviraja in the Princess of Wales *Sarasvati Bhavana Studies*, Vol. II in 1923, completely follows the lead of Vopadeva and Hemādri. Its first few sūtras read :

(१) अथातो भक्तिजिज्ञासा । (२) भक्तिर्मनस उल्लासविशेष: (३) भाव एवेयमित्येके (४) रसस्तु तत्सामग्रीत उत्पत्तेः । (५) स द्विविधो निर्गुणः सगुणश्च । (६) अन्त्यो नवविधो भोक्तृभेदात् । (७) नवविधश्चैषः पुराणादिषु ।

Thus we see the strange phenomenon in India of *Purāṇas* which were said to be नीरस and outside the sphere of Kāvya in the beginning, coming in course of time to rank as the best of all literature. This was just the period when Bhakti came to be held as a *Puruṣārtha* more blissful than mokṣa itself and when the Bhakta came to be held in greater regard than the jñānin.

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8. *Acyuta granthamālā*, Benares.
9. K. M. Edn. Bombay, 1913.
10. *Acyuta Granthamālā*, Benares.
11. नात्र कैवल्यपरे शास्त्रे भक्तिपरः शृङ्गारः प्रधानमिति द्योतयितुमाचार्येण नैष प्रथममुक्तः । Loc Cit.

RETURN TO KĀLIDĀSA'S ṚTU-SAṀHĀRA[1]

By R. B. KULSHRESHTHA

Since I drew attention of scholars to the fact that Kālidāsa, as was his practice in later days, borrowed the basic idea of *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra* from the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*–Third Khaṇḍa, a wealth of fresh evidence has come to my notice, which further confirms my opinion about Kālidāsa's high indebtedness to this impressive treatise on the Fine Arts of Ancient India. Reference was particularly made to the Ślokas 73 to 79 in adhyāya 42 called *Rūpanirmāṇam* in the section on Painting which is called *Citrasūtra* to which are devoted adhyāyas 35 to 43 from the total adhyāyas of 118 of the third khaṇḍa.[2] A close reading of these seven Ślokas shows that the details enlisted in them regarding the depiction of the various seasons have received faithful obeisance from Kalidasa in his *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra*. Compare, for instance, Ślokas about Spring

वृक्षैर्वसन्तजैः फुल्लैः कोकिलामधुपोत्कटैः ॥
प्रहृष्टनरनारीकं वसन्तं तु प्रदर्शयेत् ।

with

पुंस्कोकिलैः कलवचोंभिरुपात्तहर्षैः
कूजद्भिरुन्मदकलानि वचांसि भृङ्गैः ।
लज्जान्वितं सविनयं हृदयं क्षणेन
पर्याकुलं कुलगृहेऽपि कृतं वधूनाम् ॥

(*Ṛtu-Saṁhāra*, VI–21) –

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* Head of the Department of English, M. N. College, Visnagar, Gujarat State.

1. When I sent my article on the Source of Kālidāsa's *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra* (published in *The Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Vol. XXII, Parts 1-2, Nov. 1965–Feb. 1966) to Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesh Mishra, he congratulated me for it and expressed his desire in these words: "I would have liked you write something more on it; however, you will continue to write something on Kalidasa and his idea of beauty and his method of presenting the theme in a manner appealing to an average reader." (Letter dated 1st September 1966). It would be, I feel, a fitting tribute to the memory of the great and distinguished scholar if I write here something more on Kalidasa's *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra*.

2. *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*–Third Khanda, Volume I, ed. Dr. Priyabala Shah, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1958.

or compare Śloka 77

सफलद्रुमसंयुक्तां पक्वसस्यां वसुन्धराम् ।
सहंसपद्मसलिलां शरदं तु तदा लिखेत् ॥

with

काशांशुका विकचपद्ममनोज्ञवक्त्रा
सोन्मादहंसरवनूपुरनादरम्या ।
आपक्वशालिरुचिरानतगात्रयष्टिः
प्राप्ता शरन्नववधूरिव रूपरम्या ॥
(*Ṛtu-Saṁhāra*, III–I)

In describing flowers and fruits, birds and beasts, Kalidasa has observed the general rule laid down in Śloka 80 :

वृक्षाणां पुष्पफलतः प्राणिनां मदतस्तथा ।
ऋतूनां दर्शनं कार्यं लोकान् दृष्ट्वा नराधिप ॥

Of greater significance are other Ślokas in this adhyāya, which have influenced and shaped Kalidasa's imagination in *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra*. Śloka 69 says that earlier part of the night should be shown by an *abhisārikā* going to meet her lover. Parallel to this, in the tenth stanza of second Canto, we find the *abhisārikā* women going to meet their lovers on nights made dense by clouds thundering loudly. Śloka 71 directs that moonlight should be indicated by the moon and the blooming of *kumuda* flowers. Corresponding to this, in the second stanza of third Canto the poet speaks that the nights look white with the moon, and the lakes with lotuses. The very next stanza of this Canto in which the rivers are imagined as gliding slowly, like women under the influence of passion, truthfully represents what Śloka 51 prescribes :

सरितां सशरीराणां वाहनानि प्रदर्शयेत् ।

Have we ever thought why does Kalidasa, endowed with a rare power of minute perception and observation, commit topographical error in *Kumārasaṁbhava* in his lovely description of the Himalaya mountain as bearing on its summits rich minerals? No metallic ore, we surely know, has so far been discovered on the Himalaya mountain. The answer is that Kālidāsa was unconsciously following the rule in Śloka 59 :

पर्वतं तु शिलाजालैः शिखरैर्धातुभिर्द्रुमैः ।

In several places in *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra*, for instince, in Canto II (25) and Canto V (12) we find Kalidasa enamoured of women with lofty breasts and broad, round hips, for which all kinds of immoral motives have been imputed to the young poet and his fine lyric excluded from his genunine Works. Here, as elsewhere, Kalidasa was moved by the demands made on him by the text of Ślokas 3 and 4 of adhyāya 37 :

अङ्गुली द्वौ नरात्क्षामं स्त्रियो मध्यं विधीयते ।
अधिका च कटिः कार्या तथैव चतुरङ्गलम् ॥३॥
उरः प्रमाणतः कार्यौ स्तनौ नृप मनोहरौ ।

These arguments further establish the fact that Kalidasa definitely belongs to the Gupta Age in which the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa* was written. From his earliest days, it seems, Kalidasa must have been familiar with the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Puraṇa*—Third Khaṇḍa because it is the only compendium which incorporates all the Fine Arts which a Nāgaraka was supposed to cultivate as a necessary part of his liberal education besides *ars amoris*. Kalidasa, as his poems and plays reveal, must have been trained in the Arts of Music, Dancing, Painting, besides having a first-hand knowledge of *Kāmasūtra*. In fact there are reasons to believe that Kalidasa must have made the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*—Third Khaṇḍa as his text-book for his guidance.

The very existence of the so-called 'interpolated stanzas' numbering thirty-two in the fourth Act of *Vikramorvaśīya*, which have puzzled and baffled us, is an overwhelming proof of his deep familiarity with this *Purāṇa*. It is argued that because these verses are written in Apabhraṁśa and because in Kalidasa's time the Apabhraṁśa could not have existed in such well-developed form, therefore, they are spurious. The critics in their support cite Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* which recognizes only two languages—Sanskrit and Prākrit. Their arguments are wholly incorrect. Even the arguements of those who speak in favour of them are insufficient and impoverished. Kalidasa did possess the knowledge of Apabhraṁśa as it was one of the current languages of India at that time.[3] In the second adhyāya of the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇ*—Third Khaṇḍa when Vajra prays to Mārkaṇḍeya to impart him the knowledge of

3. See *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*—Third Khaṇḍ, Volume II, ed. Dr. Priyabala Shah, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1961, p. 4.

vocal music, the latter explains that vocal music is of two kinds—Sanskṛta and Prākṛta and the third Apabhraṣṭa is of endless variety:

संस्कृतं प्राकृतं चैव गीतं द्विविधमुच्यते ।
अपभ्रष्टं तृतीयं तु तदनन्तं नराधिप ॥१०॥

Moreover, in adhyaya seventeen the use of three languages—Sanskrit, Prākṛt and Apabhraṁśa—is allowed to characters on the stage—Sanskrit to be spoken by the hero, Sanyāsis, Śrotriyas, Kings, Dvijātis, gods, demons, Gandharvas and Nāgas; Prākṛta by the Nāyikā, heavenly damsels, Sanyāsinis, Pretenders and Viduṣakas; and Apabhraṣṭa by children, women, low people, and eunuchs:

संस्कृतं नायकवचो लिङ्ग श्रोत्रियभूभुजाम् ।
द्विजन्मनां सुराणां च दैत्यगन्धर्वभोगिनाम् ॥३०॥

नायिकादेवरामाणां व्याजलिङ्गवतां तथा ।
विदूषकानां च भवेत्प्राकृतं वचनं नृप ॥३१॥

बालस्त्रीनीचशण्ढानां ये चान्ये नानुकीर्तिताः ।
तेषां वाक्यमपभ्रष्टं तच्च ज्ञात्वा प्रयोजयेत् ॥३२॥

There seems, therefore, nothing awkward with Kalidasa in employing Apabhraṁśa in the fourth Act of *Vikramorvaśīya*.

Similarly we have created a havoc regarding Kalidasa's own name and the title of *Vikramorvaśīya*. All sorts of legends, subjective and objective, have been woven round them. Without penetrating into the vast formidable arena of these conflicting stories and theories which have clustered round the name of 'Kalidasa' and the name of his play '*Vikramorvaśīya*', we can resolve these two related issues which have been unnecessarily entangled into a mesh of unending controversies. It is generally claimed that Kalidasa was a devotee of the goddess Kālī as the suffix 'dāsa' denotes and that he flourished in the era of Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty who had assumed the title of Vikramāditya and whose victories were glorified by Kalidasa in *Vikramorvaśīya* as the prefix 'Vikram' signifies. Whether Kalidasa propitiated the goddess Kālī or whether his patron was Vikramāditya, such arguements, though there may be some truth in them, are by themselves quite unimportant. In the age in which Kalidasa lived it was customary to have the proper names of some

men ending in 'dāsa' and those of kings in 'vikram'. This may be corroborated from adhyaya seventeen of the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*—Third Khaṇḍa, which embodies the general rule regarding the endings of the proper names :

स्वयमुत्पादितानां मे नाम्नां त्वं शृणु लक्षणम् ।
शर्मवर्मधनान्यन्ते वर्णानां दासवत्तथा ॥३३॥

राज्ञां विक्रमसंयुक्तममात्यानां तथा भवेत् ।
स्त्रीणां सुखोद्यमक्रूरं नायिकानां मनोहरम् ॥३४॥

THE SAṄGAMANĪYA GEM EPISODE IN THE VIKRAMORVAŚĪYAM

By DR. S. G. KANTAWALA*

The *Vikramorvaśīyam* (=VK) is one of the three plays of Kālidāsa dealing with the love affair of the mortal king Purūravas and the celestial hataera Ūrvaśī culminating into their permanent union by Indra's grace, the good tidings of which are conveyed through Nārada. But before this final union is sanctioned, the drama passes through the vicissitudes of curse and separation "which are according to our poet, a necessary evil because the love of Purūravas and Ūrvaśī was tinged with lust and earthly dross."[1] The abduction of Ūrvaśī and Citralekhā by the demon Keśin calls forth the nymphs' loud cry for the help of one "whoever is a friend of the gods or whoever can travel in the region of the sky."[2] The consequent succour rendered by Purūravas germinates the feelings of love in Ūrvaśī. Later on, it is due to Bharata's curse accompanied with Indra's emendation thereto[3] and the favourable declaration made by Auśīnarī at the time of the observance of the Priyānuprasādanavrata[4] that Ūrvaśī finds her path of love smooth

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* M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda.

1. Athalye, S. B. and Bhawe, S. S.: The *Vikramorvaśīyam* of Kālidāsa, (1932), Introduction, p. XIX.

2. Athalye, S. B. and Bhawe, S. S.: *Op. Cit.*, Translation, p. 2.

Cf. परित्रायतां परित्रायतां यः सुरपक्षपाती यस्य वाऽम्बरतले गतिरस्ति ।
Op. Cit., VK. I, p. 2.

3. Cf. सा खलु शप्तोपाध्यायेन । महेन्द्रेण पुनरनुगृहीता ।........येन ममोपदेशस्त्वया लङ्घितस्तेन न ते दिव्यं स्थानं भविष्यतीत्युपाध्यायस्य शापः । महेन्द्रेण पुनः प्रेक्षणावसाने लज्जावनतमुखी भणिता यस्मिन्बद्धभावाऽसि तस्य मे रणसहायस्य राजर्षेः प्रियमत्र करणीयम् । सा त्वं यथाकामं पुरूरवसमुपतिष्ठस्व यावत्स त्वयि दृष्टसंतानो भवेदिति ।
VK. III, p. 35.

Regarding the rôle of curse, S. S. Bhawe observes that "he (*i.e.* Kālidāsa) employs it either for the development of the story or plot or as a thing inherent in the original story." *Kalidasa, the National Poet of India*, (1964), p. 54.

4. Cf. एषाऽहं देवतामिथुनं रोहिणीमृगलाञ्छनं साक्षीकृत्य आर्यपुत्रमनुप्रसादयामि । अद्यप्रभृति यां स्त्रियमार्यपुत्रः प्रार्थयते या चाऽऽर्यपुत्रस्य समागमप्रणयिनी तया मया प्रीतिबन्धेन वर्तितव्यमिति ।
VK. III, pp. 45-46.

and heartening and "the third act closes with a suggestion that love may now reign supreme, unobstructed by any further separation, prolonging the king's nights in the company of his beloved."[5] After attending a satra at the Naimiṣa forest the king and Ūrvaśī go to the Gandhamādana forest[6] where he happens to stare at Udayavatī, the Vidyādhara girl and Ūrvaśī, "the queen of all beautiful temptresses"[7] is all wrath. Her love is still carnal and uncrowned with the glory of the offspring,[8] the highest joy and acme of the married love.[9] Inspite of the royal apologies she enters unknowingly the forbidden forest sacred to Kumāra and is transformed into a *vāsantī latā*. The king is distracted and overwhelmed with intense grief. Being *unmatta* then, he wanders in the forest of the Gandhamādana mountain in search of his beloved. After his long wandering in the forest he chances to see a shining gem in the cleft of a rock and a mysterious voice[10] directed him to pick it up declaring:

5. Athalye, S. B. and Bhawe, S. S., *op. cit.*, p. 71.

Cf. अनधिगतमनोरथस्य पूर्वं,
शतगुणितेव गता मम त्रियामा ।
यदि तु तव समागमे तथैव,
प्रसरति सुभ्रु ततः कृती भवेयम् ।।

VK III.22.

6. Velankar, H. D.: *The Vikramorvaśīya of Kālidāsa*, (Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi), Critical Notes, p. 133.

7. Velankar, H. D.: *op. cit.*, Editor's Introduction, p. LII.

8. Cf. the Vidūṣaka's complaint in this connection:

असन्तानत्वं वर्जयित्वा न किमप्यस्य हीनम् ।

VK. V, p. 67.

9. *Cf.* अन्तःकरणतत्त्वस्य दम्पत्योः स्नेहसंश्रयात् ।
आनन्दग्रन्थिरेकोऽयमपत्यमिति बध्यते।।

Uttararāmacaritam, III. 17.

10. The mysterious voice is heard from behind the curtain (*cf. nepathye*/*VK.* IV, p. 62) and the king says:

"अये अनुकम्पते मां कश्चिन्मृगचारी मुनिर्भगवान् ।।" (*VK.* IV, p. 63).

This *mṛgacārin* is also spoken of as a *muni* by the king (*VK.* IV, p. 65). In the opinion of K. H. Dhruva this *mṛgacārī bhagavān* is Lord Śiva and for this he has a conjectural reading '*bhagavān gajacarmavāsāḥ*'. *Parākramanī Prasādī*,

> "This is the Saṅgamanīya jewel, produced from the red lac applied to her feet by the Daughter of the Mountain (*viz.* Gaurī). When worn, this brings about union with one's beloved before long."[11] (*VK.* 4. 36 (65))

He obeys the suggestive command and picks it up. He is charmed by the *vāsantī latā* and he anxiously embraces it under the belief that it is his beloved and lo! the "magic stone"[12] has done the magic of metamorphosing the creeper into Ūrvaśī. Thus the union gem has put an end to their separation and is now worn by Ūrvaśī on her forehead.[13] The lovers, then, return to the capital Pratiṣṭhāna[14] in a cloud-balloon.[15] Thus the gem brings about the

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(Gujarati translation of the *VK*), p. 82. *En passant* it may be noted that the the lection conjectured by K. H. Dhruva is found also in D. F_2. P_4. (*Vide* Velankar, H.D., *op. cit.*, p. 86, fn). H. D. Velankar accepts the lection '*mṛgacārī munir bhagavān*' (*Ibid.*, p. 86).

Incidentally it may be noted "the Sanskrit writers......also believed in the grace of the divine and the grace of the sages which would lift up a sufferer from the deepest of miseries" (Jog, K. P., "A Fresh Revaluation of the Inner Meaning of the Śākuntala," *H. D. Velankar commemoration Volume*, 1965, p. 212.

Cf. सर्वथा ऋषयो देवताश्च श्रेयो विधास्यन्ति ।

(उत्तररामचरितम्, ed. by G. K. Bhat, 1953, p. 4).

11. Athalye, S. B. and Bhawe, S. S.: *op. cit.*, p. 44. S. P. Pandit observes that "we must suppose that some mountain rivulet bathed the lac of Pārvatī's feet and deposited it in the crevice of a rock, so that it ultimately became the brilliant gem that it is now." The *Vikramorvaśīyam*, BSS No. XVI. (3rd edition, 1899), Notes, p. 124.

12. Keith, A.B.: *The Sanskrit Drama*, (1959), p. 151.

Dasgupta, S. N. and De S. K.: *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, (Classical *Period*), Vol. I. p. 138.

13. *VK*. IV. 42 (73). मणिमादाय मूर्धनि वहति । *VK*. IV, p. 65.

ललाटे मणिं निवेश्य । Velankar H. D., *op. cit.*, p. 90.

14. Pratiṣṭhāna is situated on the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna.

चित्रलेखा—एतद्भगवत्या भागीरथ्या यमुनासंगमविशेषपावनेषु सलिलेष्वलोकयत इव आत्मानं प्रतिष्ठानस्य शिखाभरणभूतं राजर्षेर्भवनमुपस्थिते स्वः ।

Cf.

VK. II, p. 20. It is the modern Jhusi in Allahabad; *vide*, Kantawala, S. G., "Prayāga-Māhātmya—A Study, Purāṇa Bulletin, Vol. IX, No. 1, January 1967.

15. 4. 43 (74).

reunion in consonanc with the anouncement.[16] But this is not the final union and calamities loom large. We hear in the beginning of Act V an announcement from behind the curtain that the uniting gem is seized upon by a vulture taking it to be a piece of meat even though it was *dukūlottaracchada,*[17] when it "was being taken away to her apartments in a casket for use in her personal decorations."[18] The king is informed of the theft and he chases the culprit, but it flees away escaping the range of his eyes and he, then, passes the orders for instituting a thorough investigation and capture. From the dramatic point of view, "this unexpected loss of the uniting gem must naturally have made everyone apprehensive of a fresh separation of the lovers"[19] and H. D. Velankar observs that "this is probably also what the poet wants to suggest.[20]

The chamberlain enters, then, with a gem and an arrow[21] marked with the owner's name *viz.* Āyus, the son of Ūrvaśī and Aila *i.e.* Purūravas (5.7). Immediately the gem is ordered to be washed with water, to be purified in fire and placed in a (jewellary) box and this latter direction was "meant only for immediate safe custody of the same," as observed by H. D. Velankar.[22] Now "the return of the boy gives extreme delight to the unexpecting father and for a while, even, to the mother."[23] And, now, Ūrvaśī is reminded of the limit put to her stay in company with Purūravas and her eyes swell with tears and she weeps.[24] The king, anxiously, inquires about the reason and she tells him about the limit of her stay which she had not divulged to him so far.[25] The king is

16. Cf. यैतं प्रदेशं स्त्री प्रवेक्ष्यति सा लताभावेन परिणंस्यति।
गौरीचरणसम्भवं मणिं विना ततो न मोक्ष्यत इति।
मणिप्रभावादासादिता त्वमस्माभिः। *VK.* IV, p. 65.
प्रियया तेनास्मि सखे संगमनीयेन संगमितः। *VK.* V, *ed.*

17. *Vide* Pandit S. P. for his remarks on the word *dukūlottaracchada, op. cit.,* Notes, pp. 124-125.

18. Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.,* p. LIII.

19. Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.,* p. LIII.

20. Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.,* p. LIII.

21. *Cf.* ततः प्रविशति सशरं मणिमादाय कञ्चुकी। *VK. V,* p. 70.

22. Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.,* p. LIII.

23. Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.,* p. LIII.

24. Cf. उर्वशी स्मृत्वा रोदिति।.... ...अश्रुमुखी संवृत्ता। *VK.* V, p. 77.

25. *Vide* Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.,* pp. 132 ff.

shocked to know about the impending permanent separation and decides to abdicate the throne and to leave for the forest crowning Āyus. Indra comes to know about Purūravas' decision by his *prabhāva*[26] and sends Nārada to him with a direction that he (*i.e.* Purūravas) should not renounce the throne in view of the imminent war between the gods and the demons as he is his powerful ally in war and he (*i.e.* Nārada) conveys further the message that Ūrvaśī would be his life-long *sahadharmacāriṇī*[27] and thus the drama ends happily with the *priya* done to Purūravas by Indra, including the installation of Āyus as heir-apparent.

From the aforegoing survey it is clear that it is the uniting gem which brings about Purūravas' union with Ūrvaśī after their separation in the Kumāravana. This uniting gem, which is a "creation of Kālidāsa,"[28] "has itself been skilfully utilised by the poet to bring the final catastrophy to a head," as observed by H. D. Velankar.[29] Thus this leads to the vulture-episode which creates a

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26. *Cf. prabhāvadarśī Maghavā......| VK.* V, p. 81.

27. *Cf.* इयं चोर्वशी यावदायुस्तव सहधर्मचारिणी भवत्विति । *VK.* V, p. 81.

S. B. Athalye and S.S. Bhawe render *sahadharmacāriṇī* as "rightful wife" (*op. cit.*, Translation, p. 56). In the opinion of S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, Urvaśī was the "wedded love" of Pururavas (*op. cit.*, p. 139). R. P. Kangle also opines that Urvaśī was Purūravas' *vivāhitā patnī* ((कालिदासाचीं नाटकें, 1957, p. 113). K. N. Watave holds that both of them would have married (संस्कृतनाट्य-सौन्दर्य, p. 220). In the opinion of H. D. Velanakr the word *sahadharmacāriṇī* is not used "in its usual sense of a married wife" (*op. cit.*, p. XXXV, cf. p. 134). *Vide* also his remarks on the word *devībhiḥ* in the sentence चत्र तथिविशेष ,इति भगवत्योर्गङ्गायमुनयोः संगमे देवीभिः सह कृताभिषेकः साम्प्रतमुपकार्यां प्रविष्टः । *VK.* V, p. 67. (*Op. cit.*, p. XXXV, cf. p. 134).

In view of the absence of a clear-cut reference to their marriage it may be suggested that the relation between the two may be taken as some sort of a civil contract or a companionate marriage which "is meant to solve without hypocricy and without disguise, some of the problems of sex......to make possible an honourable sex relationship........" (McIver R. M. and Page Charcles H., *Society, An Introductory Analysis*, 1962, p. 277). It is significant to note that this type of marriage does not contemplate offspring. (*op. cit.*, p. 277); hence in our context, this term is not to be taken in all its connotation. In this connection it may be remembered that the Ṛgveda knows about their companionship; cf. *RV.* 10. 95, 15 *cd.* न वै स्त्रैणानि सख्यानि सन्ति सालावृकाणां हृदयान्येता ।

28. Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.*, p. XXXXVI.

29. Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.*, p. LIII.

dramatic suspense. The uniting gem is soon regained and then is ushered in the scene of presentation of Āyus resulting into the union of the father, the mother and the son[30] and thus it justifies its nomenclature.

But, now, the real difficulty and obstacle crop up in Ūrvaśī's stay with Purūravas, when Āyus is presented, because the term of her stay with him expires as per condition and now there appears to be nothing which can either prevent the imminent inevitable separation or bring about their permanent union and consequently avert the tragedy. At this critical juncture comes Nārada to announce Indra's *anugraha* and thus all the threads of the story crowning it with the permanent union of the hero and the heroine,"[31] are knitted up. But this *anugraha* is due to the *ākasmika* reason,[32] *viz.* the imminent war between the gods and the demons. This *anugraha* raises the following points:—The very reason for which the said *anugraha* is passed tends to depict apparently Indra as a little selfish, but it may be said with H. D. Velankar that "Mahendra, who had no idea about the depth of her feelings for Purūravas, when he first put the limit on her stay, quickly realised this and very generously permitted Ūrvaśī to stay with Purūravas as long as he lived."[33] But, this selfish generosity calls forth in question Indra's *prabhāva* and tends to belittle his character.

It is also true that Indra's *anugraha* conveyed through Nārada leads to the fulfilment of the condition as laid down by the Sanskrit Drama that it should have a happy ending.[34] Thus Nārada's arrival and Indra's *anugraha* may be said to have been introduced to fulfil a technical dramaturgical necessity and tend to appear to be tagged to the drama for the above-said purpose. Thus it appears to be bereft of an intrinsic connection with the earlier events or episodes in the drama. In the preceding events it is the uniting gem which plays a significant rôle in carving out the unions which were apparently impossible. If, therefore, a due stress is given to the uniting

30. Cf. Watave, K. N., *op. cit.*, p. 213.

31. Athalye, S. B. and Bhave, S. S., *op. cit.*, Notes, p. 89.

32. Kangle, B. P., *op. cit.*, p. 105.

33. Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.*, p. LIV.

34. Cf. Mirashi, V. V., *Kālidāsa* (in Hindi), 1956, p. 174; Athalye, S. B. and Bhawe S. S., *op. cit.*, Notes p. 90; Dasgupta, S. N. and De, S. K. *op. cit.*, p. 60.

gem and its magical efficatious potencies are not thrown into oblivion, a miracle, which should bring about an everlasting union, must happen. And Nārada comes with Indra's message. Now, if the episode of Nārada's arrival and Indra's *anugraha* is linked up with the efficacy and magical potencies of the uniting gem, a fair justice may also be given to Kālidāsa's dramatic technique from the point of view of the plot-construction. Kālidāsa has categorically stated that whosoever bears the uniting gem will be united with his/her beloved person ere long.[35] It is equally significant to note that those are the words of a *muni* and also that the uniting gem is at present already in the royal custody. It did bring about, as noted earlier, firstly, the union of the lover and the beloved and secondly the union of the father, mother and the son. Now if it could not prevent the inevitable impending separation, the uniting gem would lose all its force, edge and significance and the words of the *muni* would also be falsified in that case. But with his superb dramatic art of the plot-construction Kālidāsa obviates this difficulty by the introduction of Nārada with a message of good tiding and keeps in tact the operation of the radiation of the magic influence of the uniting gem to effect the permanent union of the hero and the heroine. Moreover, if in the case of the union of the trio, the vulture and Āyus are responsible, some other agency of a higher order is necessary to effect a permanent union of the two. *En passant* it may be remembered that even in the case of the first reunion a *muni* was responsible. And now, therefore under these circumstances, no less a person than Nārada, who is already associated with Ūrvaśī[36] from the beginning of the drama, is better suited to the occasion to announce Indra's gracious rectification in the limit of Ūrvaśī's society with Purūravas. If thus interpreted, the *Indrānugraha* episode is a natural sequel and an outcome of the uniting gem episode, justifying its very name upto the end and giving credit and credence to the words of a *muni*.

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35. Cf. *VK*. 4.36; 5.5.

36. It was Nārada who communicated to Indra the news about Urvaśī's capture by the demon Keśin. वयस्य, केशिना हृतामुर्वशीं नारदादुपश्रुत्य प्रत्यहरणार्थमस्याः शतक्रतुना गन्धर्वसेना समादिष्टा। *VK*. I, p. 9.

N.B.:—*VK*=*Vikramorvaśiyam*. The references to the *VK* in this paper are to the edition by S. B. Athalye and S. S. Bhawe, published in 1932 by K. B. Dhawale, Girgaon, Bombay. The figures in the brackets along with the *VK*—reference refer to those in the critical edition by H. D. Velankar published by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1961.

KUBERA IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MAHĀBHĀRATA (FROM AN EARTH–SPIRIT TO A GOD)

By V. M. BEDEKER*

Kuber (*K-*) has been already recognized in classical Sanskrit literature as a god, the divine guardian of the Northern Quarter. His realm is regarded as a heaven of boundless opulence and unending pleasure.[1] But a study of earlier Sanskrit Literature would show that *K.* had humble beginnings and that godhood was conferred upon him only in the later part of his career. The *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh*), for instance, would show in its vast canvas the varied phases through which *K.* passed in his growth into a fullfledged divinity from obscure, not very edifying beginnings. The present study which is mainly confined to the data in the *Mbh* is an attempt to trace the development in the traits which characterize the personality of *K.*

Kubera in Vedic and Early Sanskrit Literature

Before presenting the data in the *Mbh* proper it is felt, it would be instructive to look for the traits of *K.*, if any, in Sanskrit literature which has been regarded as early as, if not earlier than the oldest parts of the *Mbh.* Such a presentation of the earlier references would provide a historical background for the data in the *Mbh* and would prove helpful in supplying a sort of criteria to analyse and arrange the material in the *Mbh* with a view to tracing the development of *K.*

What may be regarded as the earliest reference to *K.* in Vedic Literature occurs in a passage of the *Atharvaveda* (*AV.*).[2] The pas-

* Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona—4.

1. See *Raghuvaṁśa* 4. 66 ततः प्रतस्थे कौवेरीं भास्वानिव रघुर्दिशम् । Cf. also 5. 29-30; 9. 25; also *Meghadūta* (the description of Alakā) II, 1—11.

2. सा (विराज्) उदक्रामत् । सेतरजनानागच्छत् । ताम् इतरजना उपाह्वयन्त तिरोध एहीति । तस्याः कुबेरो वैश्रवणो वत्स आसीत्..........। तां रजतनाभिः काबेरकोऽधोक् तां तिरोधामवाधोक् । तां तिरोधामितरजना उपजीवन्ति । AV. VIII. 10. 28.

sage is in praise of Virāj, the goddess of the earth. It is said that Virāj came to the 'other folks' (*itara Jana*) in the form of a cow, with Kubera Vaiśravaṇa as her calf, was milked and the milk that she yielded was 'concealment' or 'hiding on which the 'other folks' subsist. The passsage probably indicates that *K.* is a spirit of 'concealment' believed in by the 'folk' i.e. the indigenous non-Aryan population in the hollows and the clefts of the earth.[3]

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[4] it is said that the demons or the evil spirits are the subjects of K-Vaiśravaṇa and that the evil doers and robbers throng around him.[5] The *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra*[6] while echoing the above description further indicates that K. Vaiśravaṇa is associated with the knowledge of spells relating to the Piśācas i.e. demons.[7] In the *Tattirīya Āraṇyaka*,[8] K. Vaiśravaṇa is characterised as the embodiment of 'concealment' (Tirodhāḥ) and as the 'King of Kings who overpowers enemies by force (*Prasahyasāhin*) and is invoked to make the enemies 'disappear' and to fulfil the desires of his devotees. The text also refers to 'a son of Kubera' (*Kaubera*) who afflicts creatures.[9]

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3. See: (1) Manfred mayrhofer: 'Probleme eines altindischen Gottennamens': *Beitrage zur Namenforschung*, Band 2 (1950-51) p. 181; (2) L. V. Schroeder quoted in (1) on page 180, (3) E. W. Hopkins, '*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 33rd Vol., p. 58.

4. 13. 4. 3. 10.

5. तस्य रक्षांसि विशः। तानि इमानि आसते इति सेलगाः पापकृतः उपसमेता भवन्ति।

6. 10. 7. 6.

7. पिशाचविद्यावेदः सोऽयम्।

8. 1. 31. 1—6.

9. अद्भ्यस्तिरोधा अजायत। तव वैश्रवणः सदा। तिरोधेहि सपत्नान् नः।…… ……हिरण्यनाभये वितुदये कौवेराय अयं बलिः।…… राजाधिराजाय प्रसह्यसाहिने। नमो वयं वैश्रवणाय कुर्महे। स मे कामान् कामकामाय मह्यं कामेश्वरो वैश्रवणो ददातु। कुवेराय वैश्रवणाय महाराजाय नमः।'

['सर्वप्राणिनो विशेषेण तुदति व्यथयति इति वितुदिः—सायणः]

The latter part of this passage is in later times named as 'Kubera-hṛdaya' invocation recited in the Puṣya-snāna ceremony. See P. V. Kane, *History of the Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. V, p. 796.

In this passage there is a sacrifice to Kubera (Vaiśravaṇa—Yajña). Kubera is thus to be propitiated at a ceremony celebrating the completion of the sixtieth year in the life of a man. (षष्ट्यब्दपूर्ति). See 'Kubera' by G. V. K. Aiyangar (*Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar Commemoration Vol.* 1941, p. 730).

In the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*[10] Vaiśravaṇa is invoked along with Īśāna for the sake of the husband, which probably suggests that K. Vaiśravaṇa along with Śiva is associated as a genie of productivity.

In the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*[11] a reference is made to gods, who had been previously human beings or mortals.' According to the traditional interpretation of this passage, *K.* was one of such gods who has attained godhood by dint of great penance.[12] The *Manusmṛti*[13] also refers to K. as one among the mortals who achieved their end by practising self-discipline or selfcontrol.[14]

In the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, the grammarian, there are references which shed light on the peculiar character of Vaiśravaṇa Kubera. In one passage of the *Mahābhāṣya* Vaiśravaṇa along with Śiva is said to be a god of the people (*laukika*) and not a Vedic God. In another passage, Vaiśravaṇa is characterized as one having Piśācas (goblins) with him.[15]

In one of his Sūtras,[16] Pāṇini refers to devotees of a deity named Mahārāja. This Mahārāja may be Kubera Vaiśravaṇa who

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10. I. 11. 7.

11. III. 11.

12. एता एव देवताः पुंसः । वैश्रवणं ईशानं च ।। cf. कौषीतकि गृह्यसूत्र I. 11.

See "Kubera........represents a fecundating divinity, a promoter of productivity"—J. Gonda : *'Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism'* p. 195.

13. 7. 42 : "मनुष्यप्रकृतीनां च देवानां यज्ञे भुवत्वा इत्येके ।।३।।
Haradatta in his commentary *Ujjvalā*, says anent this passage:

"ये मनुष्या भूत्वा प्रकृष्टेन तपसा देवाः संपन्नाः ते मनुष्यप्रकृतयो देवाः नन्दीश्वरकुबेरादयः ।"

14. पृथुस्तु विनयाद्राज्यं प्राप्तवान्मनुरेव च । कुबेरश्च धनैश्वर्यं ब्राह्मण्यं चैव गाधिजः ।

15. (a) (On Pāṇini, VI, 3. 26) "शिववैश्रवणौ । स्कन्दविशाखौ ।"
(b) (On Pāṇini, V, 2. 129) "पिशाचकी वैश्रवणः" ।

16. IV 3. 97 महाराजाट्ठञ् । (महाराजः भक्तिः अस्य माहाराजिकः)

Dr. J. N. Banerjee in his *Development of Hindu Icongraphy* (1955). (p. 522) says that Pāṇini in this Sūtra seems to have in mind the *Caturmahārājas* of the Sanskrit Buddhist texts among whom Vaiśravaṇa figures as one *Mahārāja*. See also V. S. Agarwala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 361.

The references to the *Mbh* in this article unless specified otherwise, are to the critical edition of the *Mbh* published by the BORI, Poona.

is called Mahārāja in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* as referred to above. The features of *K.* as revealed by the passages in the Vedic and early Sanskrit Literature, referred to above, may now be summarised as follows :

(i) *K.* was a spirit of hiding and 'concealment'. He was associated with demons and goblins, and with such association appeared to have been regarded as a malevolent spirit to be invoked to ward off evil and dark forces.

(ii) *K.* is asociated with Īśāna or Śiva.

(iii) *K.* appears to have shed his dark, malevolent aspect and attained to a position of power and wealth. As Vaiśravaṇa, he is praised as the King of Kings who fulfills the desires of his devoted

(iv) *K.* appears to have outgrown his humble, shady position and attained to godhead. It appears that *K.* as god does not belong to the Vedic fold but to the non-Vedic; he is one of the gods of the folks.

Kubera in the Mahāb

On the background of these clues to the traits of *K.* provided by Vedic and other early Sanskrit literature, it would be instructive to study the traits and characteristics which have developed around *K.* in the *Mbh.*

I. *K's love of places inaccessible to man*

Pāṇḍu with his two wives Kuntī and Mādrī lived in the company of the Sages on the Śataśṛṅga mountain beyond the Himalaya. Having practised penance there for some time, he thought of going towards the north. The sages, however, dissuaded him from undertaking that journey, which, they said, would be arduous and difficult, being among the untrodden ways. Among such regions inaccessible to man, they referred to the gardens of *K.*[17] When Bhīma, in quest of the fragrant lotus, wanted by Draupadī, arrives at the

17. दृष्टवन्तो गिरेरस्य दुर्गान्देशान् बहून्वयम् । उद्यानानि कुबेरस्य समानि विषमाणि च । *Mbh.* 1. 3. 6-7.

lotus-pond of *K.*, he is rebuked by the guards of *K.* that the sport-pond of *K.* was forbidden to mortals.[18] Vidura, while relating the story of the hunters who, while in search of honey perished, said on the authority of the Brāhmaṇas knowing magical arts, that the jar of honey which was placed in a mountain cave on the high desolate precipice was especially a favourite of *K.*[19] K's love of inaccesible places as seen from the above instances appears to be the heritage of his past role as an earth's pint.

II. *K.—Master of the art of concealing and revealing objects*

The weapon which *K.* presented to Arjuna is said to be 'Concealment' (*antardhāna*) his favourite missile—by which the enemies were deprived of their elan and thrown into Stupor.[20] The honey, the favourite of *K.* is said to have been endowed with the power of making a blind man see.[21] In his battle with Indrajit, Rāma was helped by *K.* with a gift of 'water' which could reveal to view whatever was concealed.[22] With their eyes touched with that water, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, the monkeys and their comrades in arms, could spot out and kill the enemy. The word *'antardhāna'* which is said to be the favourite missile of *K.* is reminiscent of the Vedic *'tirodhā'* (concealment)[23] referred to above. It may be mentioned that a passage in the *Mbh.* appearing in the Appendix[24] (of the *Droṇaparvan* of the

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18. आक्रीडोऽयं कुबेरस्य दयितः पुरुषर्षभ । नेह शक्यं मनुष्येण विहर्तुं मर्त्यधर्मिणा । *Mbh.* 3. 152. 4.

19. मधु पीतममाक्षिकम् । मरुत्प्रपाते विषमे निविष्टं कुम्भसंमितम् ॥ 23.
आशीविषैः रक्ष्यमाणं कुबेरदयितं भृशम् । 24. (5.62).

20. मत्तोऽपि त्वं गृहाणास्त्रमन्तर्धानं प्रियं मम ।
ओजस्तेजोद्युतिहरं प्रस्वापनमरातिहन् ॥ 33 (3.42).

21. मधु पीतममाक्षिकम् ।···कुबेरदयितं भृशम्···यत्प्राश्य···मचक्षुर्लभते चक्षुः ॥
5. 62. 25-26.

22. (विभीषण : राममुवाच)—इदमम्भः कुबेरस्ते महाराजः प्रयच्छति ।
अन्तर्हितानां भूतानां दर्शनार्थं परंतप ॥ 10.
अनेन स्पृष्टनयनो भूतान्यन्तर्हितान्युत । भवान् द्रक्ष्यति यस्मै च भवानेतत् प्रदास्यति ॥ (3.27).

23. *A.V.* viii 10. 28.

24. अन्तर्धानं चामपात्रे दुग्धा पुण्यजनैर्विराट् ।
दोग्धा वैश्रवणस्तेषां वत्स आसीत् कुबेरकः ॥
—*Mbh.* 7 (after adhyāya 49). Appendix I. 8. lines 809–810. p. 1117

critical edition) refers in similar metaphorical language to the role of *K.* as the earth-spirit, being associated with 'concealment'. The fact that the passage has been relegated to the appendix in the critical edition shows that *K.*, in the time of the *Mbh.* had gradually outgrown the shady role of the earth-spirit and had risen in the estimation of the people to occupy the position of a demi-god.

III. *K. gradually raised to the status of an Immortal* (*god*)

In one passage of the *Mbh.*,[25] *K.* is described to have been born in the hermitage of the sage Viśravas. The hermitage was situated, in the country of Avanti, on the bank of the westward flowing river Narmadā.

A brief life–story of K. is given in another passage in *Mbh.*[26] during the narration of the story of Rāma (*Rāmopākhyāna*). K. or Vaiśravaṇa was born of Pulastya the son of Brahmā. Deserting his father, *K.* ingratiated himself with the grandfather who conferred upon him immortality, opu'ence, kingdom of the quarter, friendship with Śiva and the capital of Laṅkā along with the troops of the demons.[27] He pacified his father by sending three demon–maidservants to wait upon him. Rāvaṇa, his stepbrother born from one of the maidservants, rose up in arms against him and drove him out of Laṅkā. *K.*, therefore with his hosts of followers went to live on the mountain Gandhamādana.

This passage occurs in the Appendix as a part of 'The Story of Sixteen Kings' (Ṣoḍaśa-rājakīya) and describes the achievements of Pṛthu, one of the Sixteen Kings. It is worth noting in this connection that 'this' Story of Sixteen Kings' appears in the *Śāntiparvan* (*Mbh.* 12. 29) in the body of the critical text itself. Therein, Pṛthu is also described as one of the 16 Kings. But his achievement of milking the earth is not referred to either in the body of the critical text or in the Appendix.

25. अवन्तिषु प्रतीच्यां वै कीर्तयिष्यामि ते दिशि ।
प्रत्यक्स्रोता नदी पुण्या नर्मदा तत्र भारत ॥
निकेतः ख्यायते पुण्यो यत्र विश्रवसो मुनेः ।
जज्ञे धनपतिर्यत्र कुबेरो नरवाहनः ॥ —Mbh. 3. 87. 1–3.

26. 3. 258

27. पितामहस्तु प्रीतात्मा ददौ वैश्रवणस्य ह । अमरत्वं धनेशत्वं लोकपालत्वमेव च ॥ 15.

ईशानेन तथा सख्यं पुत्रं च नलकूबरम् ।
राजधानीनिवेशं च लङ्कां रक्षोगणान्विताम् ॥ 16.

—Mbh. 3. 258.

K. became the lord of the demons (rakṣas).[28] His lotus pond, his gardens and his palace were guarded by the demons, headed by Haiḍimba,[29] maṇimat[30] and others.

K. besides being the lord of the demons (Rakṣas), was also the lord of Yakṣas, Guhyakas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas and Apsarasas. These, as compared with the rakṣas (who are rather malevolent), are benevolent semi-divine beings. The Lordship over the Yakṣas etc. is considered to be the special characteristic of *K.*[31] In his special Assembly Hall (called *Vaiśravaṇī Sabhā*), as described by Nārada to Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Sabhāparvan, K's retinue* consists of many species of Gandharvas such as kinnara, nara,[32] guhyaka and of Yakṣas. The names of the Yakṣas attending on *K.* in the Assembly hall mentioned in this particular adhy. sound strange[33] and suggest the weird habitat from which *K.* originally hails, as an earth-spirit surrounded by goblins and other eeric spirits. *K.* is waited upon by a host of Apsarasas who entertain him day and night with dance and music. Among the names of apsaras are found many which are familiar in classical Sanskrit Literature.[34]

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28. कुवेरमिव रक्षांसि शतक्रतुमिवामराः । ज्ञातयस्त्वानुजीवन्तु सुहृदश्च‥‥॥ 13. 60. 25.

The rakṣasas have various names such as क्रोधवशाः (3. 152. 24) शङ्कुकर्णाः (3. 158. 36). See also 12. 122. 28.

K. is also the lord of Nairṛtas—a species of Rakṣas. *Mbh.* 12. 67. 25.

29. *Mbh.* 3. 153. 21.

30. 3. 157. 52; 13. 20. 8.

31. कुबेर इव यक्षाणां मरुतामिव वासवः 5. 153. 12.

See also 7. 5. 25; 14. 43. 10 (कुबेरः सर्वयक्षाणां राजा) *Mbh.* 2. 10. 14.

(यक्षेन्द्राय कुबेराय)

32. किंनरा नाम गन्धर्वा नरा नाम तथापरे ।

33. कशेरको गण्डकण्डुः, कुस्तुम्बुरुः पिशाचश्च, गजकर्णो विशालकः, वराहकर्णः सान्द्रोष्ठः, फलभक्षः फलोदकः, अङ्गचूडः शिखावर्तो हेमनेत्रो विभीषणः ॥

पुष्पाननः पिङ्गलकः शोणितोदः प्रवालकः—एते चान्ये च बहवो यक्षाः शतसहस्रशः 2. 10. 15

34. दिव्यतानेन गीतानि गान्ति दिव्यानि भारत । मिश्रकेशी च रम्भा च चित्रसेना शुचिस्मिता ॥

चारुनेत्रा घृताची च मेनका पुञ्जिकास्थला ॥ विश्वाची सहजन्या च प्रम्लोचा उर्वशी इरा ।

वर्गा च सौरभेयी च समीची बुद्बुदालता । एवा सहस्रशश्चान्या नृत्तगीतविशारदाः उपतिष्ठन्ति धनदं पाण्डवाप्सरसां गणाः ॥ —*Mbh.* 2. 10. 9–12.

That *K.* had undisputed sway over the Yakṣas becomes clear from the story of a Yakṣa named Sthūṇa in the *Udyogaparvan*.[35] Sthūṇa, out of compassion for Śikhaṇḍin, lent him his masculine sex for a temporary period. In the meanwhile, *K.* during his tour visited the place of Sthūṇa. Sthūṇa did not come forth to meet him. Incensed at Sthūṇa's arrogance and discovering the reason of his dereliction of duty, K. caused him to retain the woman's sex permanently. After a while, however, he relented, setting the limit of his curse up to the death of Śikhaṇḍin.

Among the Yakṣa chiefs attending on *K.* are found Aṅgāraparṇa,[36] Māṇibhadra,[37] Māṇicara.[38] One of the Gandharvas named Tumburu is described as attending on *K.* and entertaining him with Sweet music.[39]

Besides the name Vaiśravaṇa, *K.* is also found bearing other names viz. Rājarāja, Naravāhana, and Ailavila.

The name Rājarāja or Rājarājan[40] is reminiscent of the names Rājādhirāja and Mahārāja by which *K.* is praised in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*,[14] He is many times called merely Rājan which appears to be his characteristic qualification. Āstīka compares the sacrifice of Janamejaya with that of Vaiśravaṇa Rājan.[42] The great Lord Janārdana, who appeared before Mārkaṇḍeya in the form of a child sitting on a branch of a banyan tree in the midst of the deluge, proclaimed to Mārkaṇḍeya that he himself was Viṣṇu, Brahmā,

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There is also a referrence in *Mbh.* (1. 208. 14) to one Apsaras named Vargā who says that she always enjoyed the favour of *K.*:

अप्सरास्मि महाबाहो देवारण्यविचारिणी। इष्टा धनपतेर्नित्यं वर्गा नाम महाबला ॥

35. See *Mbh.* 5. 193. 30 ff.
36. I. 158. 12.
37. 3. 140. 6.
38. 3. 140. 4.
39. 3. 156. 28.
40. स राजराजो लङ्कायां निवसन् नरवाहनः । *Mbh.* 3. 259. 3.
अयमम्भो गृहीत्वा तु राजराजस्य शासनात् । गुह्यकोऽभ्यागतः 3. 273. 9
भ्रातरं राजराजानं महेश्वरसखं प्रभुम् । धनेश्वरं व्यपदिशन् कथं त्विह न लज्जसे । 3. 265. 23. See also 3. 158. 26
41. See note 4 Supra.
42. यज्ञस्तथा वैश्रवणस्य राज्ञः । —*Mbh.* 1. 50. 4.

Indra and Vaiśravaṇa Rājā[43] etc. Droṇa describes to Yudhṣṭhira that all kings obey the commands of *K.*[44] It appears that his epithet 'Rājarāja' was a further extension from his title of Rājan.

K.'s another epithet is naravāhana[45] (one whose vehicle is pulled or borne by naras). In the description of the assembly hall of *K.* by Nārada, there are found among the retinue of *K.* the hosts of Gandharvas who include a species called naras.[46] It is likely that the conveyance in which *K.* travelled was borne by this species of *naras* and that therefore he was called naravāhana. In the description of the assembly hall of *K.* referred to above, it is also said that the assembly hall of *K.* (*Vaiśravaṇīsabhā*) being itself borne by the guhyakas looked floating in the sky.[47]

K. is also called Ailvila.[84] Perhaps this name harks back to the times when *K.* had not attained godhood. In the *Śalyaparvan*, there is a mention of a holy place named after *K.* It is said that king Ailavila i.e. *K.* practised penance at that particular place and not only attained to the supreme position among the rich but also secured the friendship of Śiva.[9] Ilā means the earth and the epithet

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43. अहं विष्णुरहं ब्रह्मा शक्रश्चाहं सुराधिपः। अहं वैश्रवणो राजा यमः प्रेताधिपस्तथा ॥ –3. 187. 5.

44. निदेशो यस्य .राजानः सर्वे तिष्ठन्ति किंकराः 5. 137. 14.

45. See *Mbh.* 3. 22. 5; 3. 156. 26; 3. 258. 14; 3. 229. 3.

46. किंनरा नाम गन्धर्वा नरा नाम तथापरे ॥ *Mbh.* 2. 10. 14.

47. (वैश्रवणी सभा) गुह्य्कैरुह्यमाना सा खे विषक्तेव दृश्यते। *Mbh.* 2. 10. 3.

48. सर्वकामदुघा नाम धेनुर्धार्यते दिशम्। उत्तरां मातले धर्म्या तथैलविलसंज्ञिताम् ॥ *Mbh.* 5. 100. 10.

अत्र कैलामित्युक्तं। स्थानमैलविलस्य तत्........॥ *Mbh.* 5. 109 .18.

See also *Mbh.* 5. 137. 14.

King Dilīpa is also called ऐलविल-दिलीपं-चैलविलं मृतं शुश्रुम संजय। *Mbh.* 12. 29. 64.

49. *Balrāma* visited the *tīrtha* of Kubera:

"यत्र ऐलविलः प्रभुः। महत् तपस्तप्तं.....कुबेरेण राज्ञा.......। वरा लब्धाश्च पुष्कलाः। धनाधिपत्यं सख्यं च रुद्रेणामिततेजसा ॥ सुरत्वं लोकपालत्वं पुत्रं च नलकूबरम्। यत्र लेभे धनाधिपतिः ॥ *Mbh.* 9. 46. 22–26.

Kṣīraswāmin in his commentary on the *Amarakośa* (1. 1. 68) says that *K.* is called *Aiḍaviḍa* because his mother's name was Iḍaviḍā. (इडाविडा मातास्येति!) Monier Williams (*Skt.-Eng.-Dictionary*) says on the authority of *Viṣṇupurāṇa* that *iḍaviḍā* is a name of the daughter of Tṛṇabindu and the mother of *K.*

ailavila perhaps suggests *K's* origin as the earth-spirit living in the clefts of the earth.

IV. *K's intimate relation with Śiva.*

K's friendship with Śiva figures as one of the important characteristics in the description of his greatness. It is said during the description of the *Vaiśravaṇī Sabhā* that Śiva and his consort with the host of their weird spirits and goblins are always present at the 'durbār' of *K.*[50] Brahmā, it is said, while conferring godhood, upon *K.* also bestowed upon him the privilege of Śiva's friendship.[51] *Sītā,* while rebuking Rāvaṇa for his indecent behaviour, scolded him for his shamelessness in striking the great *K.*, the friend of Śiva.[52] When Śiva marched in procession, it was *K.* who held the privilege of marching in the vanguard[53] of the procession.

In one passage of the *Mbh.*,[54] *K.* is represented as a subordinate of Śiva, showing his master's worship. Before Yudhiṣṭhira set about digging for treasures of gold required for his horse-sacrifice, he made offerings of worship to Śiva which included sweet milk dishes and flesh. Along with worshipping Śiva, he also made offerings of worship to his servants who included *K.* The offerings, consisted of a dish mixed with rice and Sesamum and also of flesh.

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50. भगवान् भूतसंघैश्च वृतः शतसहस्रशः। त्र्यम्बको राजशार्दूल देवी च विगतक्लमा।

वामनैर्विकटैः कुब्जैः क्षतजाक्षैर्मनोजवैः। वृतः सखायमन्वास्ते सदैव धनदं नृप ॥ *Mbh.* 2. 10. 20—22.

51. (पितामहः प्रीतात्मा ददौ वैश्रवणस्य) अमरत्वं धनेशत्वं लोकपालत्वमेव च। ईशानेन तथा सख्यम् ॥ *Mbh.* 3. 258. 15-16.

52. भ्रातरं राजराजानं महेश्वरसखं प्रभुम्। धनेश्वरं व्यपदिशन् कथं स्विह न लज्जसे ॥ *Mbh.* 3. 265. 2.

53. अग्रतस्तस्य भगवान् धनेशो गुह्यकैः सह। आस्थाय रुचिरं याति पुष्पक नरवाहनः ॥ *Mbh.* 3. 221. 5.

54. (युधिष्ठिरः) गिरीशस्य यथान्यायमुपहारमुपाहरत्। मोदकैः पायसेनाथ मांसैश्चोपाहरद् बलिम् किंकराणां ततः पश्चाच्चकार बलिमुत्तमम्। यक्षेन्द्राय कुबेराय मणिभद्राय चैव ह। कृसरेण समांसेन निवापैस्तिलसंयुतैः। शुशुभे स्थानमत्यर्थं देवदेवस्य पार्थिव ॥ पूजयित्वा धनाध्यक्षं प्रणिपत्याभिवाद्य च। सुमनोभिर्विचित्राभिरपूपैः कृसरेण च। *Mbh.* 14. 64. 2—9.

K's intimate relation with Śiva is again suggestive of his being hailed from a weird milieu which is characteristic of Sun and his host.

V. *K's tardy recognition by the Vedic or Brahmanical hegemony*

Though *K.* attained godhood, it appears from some passages of the *Mbh.* that his divine status was grudged or disputed by some Vedic or Brahmanical circles. The story of King Mucukunda's fight with *K.*[55] shows that *K.* had at last to bow down before the Brahmanical power: Mucukunda, desirous of gauging his power, attacked *K.* (Vaiśravaṇa) with his army. *K.* sent his army of demons and spirits against Mucukunda and vanquished the latter's army. Mucukunda, thus defeated, blamed his priest Vasiṣṭha for his discomfiture. Then Vasiṣṭha with his power of penance put to rout the demon forces of *K.* *K.* himself appeared on the battlefield and taunted Mucukunda on his having borrowed the strength of a Brāhmaṇa, but when Mucukunda spiritedly replied that the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas having been born from one and the same source, the conquest of the enemy was their joint enterprise, *K.* reconciled himself to his defeat.

There is another passage in which *K.* is represented to have received recognition from Vedic circles—Indra killed Vṛtra as a result of which he incurred the sin of having killed a Brāhmaṇa (*Brahmahatyā*). He therefore, fell from his high position and had to go into

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55. मुचुकुन्दो विजित्येमां पृथिवीं पृथिवीपतिः । जिज्ञासमानः स्वबलमभ्ययादलकाधिपम् ॥4॥ ततो वैश्रवणो राजा रक्षांसि समवासृजत् । ते बलान्यवभृद्नन्तः प्राचरंस्तस्य सैनिकाः 5॥ स हन्यमाने सैन्ये स्वे मुचुकुन्दो नराधिपः । गर्हयामास विद्वांसं पुरोहितमरिंदमः ॥6॥ तत उग्रं तपस्तप्त्वा वसिष्ठो ब्रह्मवित्तमः । रक्षांस्यपावधीत्तत्र पन्थानं चाप्यविन्दत ॥7॥ ततो वैश्रवणो राजा मुचुकुन्दमदर्शयत् । वध्यमानेषु सैन्येषु वचनं चेदमब्रवीत्॥8॥ यद्यास्ति बाहुवीर्यं ते तद्दर्शयितुमर्हसि । किं ब्राह्मणबलेन त्वमतिमात्रं प्रवर्तसे ॥11॥ मुचुकुन्दस्ततः क्रुद्धः प्रत्युवाच धनेश्वरम् । ब्रह्मक्षत्रमिदं सृष्टमेकयोनि स्वयंभुवा ॥12-13॥ ताभ्यां संभूय कर्तव्यं प्रजानां परिपालनम् ॥15॥ ततोऽब्रवीद्वैश्रवणो राजानं सपुरोहितम् । प्रशाधि पृथिवीं वीर मद्दत्तामाखिलामिमाम् ॥ 16.17 ॥

Mbh. 12–75.

wilderness. King Nahuṣa crowned himself Indra in his place. The original Indra, who wanted to recover his sovereign place in the heaven, implored the gods of the heavenly worlds–Kubera, Yama etc. among others to help him. *K.* and the other gods offered their help against the ferocious Nahuṣa on one condition namely, that they should be entitled to a share in the offerings offered to the gods. Indra agreed to their condition by saying that they would be duly consecrated with ablution to entitle them to a place among the Vedic gods.[56] He then made *K.* the lord of the Yakṣas and possessor of untold wealth.

There is also a reference in the *Ādiparvan* to a sacrifice performed by the gods, at which *K.* also attended as one of the gods.[57]

VI. *K. the regent of a heavenly world in the north*

K. is described as residing on the mountain Gandhamādana which is situated to the north.[58]. It is said that he was made a regent of a separate heavenly world (*Lokapāla*), situated to the north. He was, therefore, called a regent of the quarter (*dikpāla*), the quarter under his dominion being specifically the north.[59] His dominion over the northern direction was considered to be so complete that the northern direction itself came to be called the direction of *K.*[60] The mountain Kailāśa became his abode.[61] He is

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56. स तान्ययावत्प्रतिभाष्य शक्रः संचोदयन्नहुषस्यान्तरेण। तत्र साह्यं दीयतां मे भवद्भिः ॥ 29 ॥ ते चाब्रुवन्नहुषो घोररूपो दृष्टीविषस्तस्य विभीम देव । त्वं चेद्राजन्नहुषं पराजयेः तद्वै वयं भागमर्हामि शक्र ॥30॥ इन्द्रोऽब्रवीत्……यमः कुबेरश्च महाभिषेकम् । संप्राप्नुवन् त्वद्य सहैव । तेन रिपुं जयामो नहुषं घोरदृष्टिम् ॥31॥ एवं संचिन्त्य भगवान्महेन्द्रः पाकशासनः । कुबेरं सर्वयक्षाणां धनानां च प्रभुं तथा ॥ 33 ॥

आधिपत्यं ददौ शक्रः सत्कृत्य वरदस्तदा ॥ 34 ॥ *Mbh.* 5. 16.

57. पुरा वै नैमिषारण्ये देवाः सत्रमुपासते । तत्रवैवस्वतो राजञ्शामित्रमकरोत्तदा ॥1॥ ततस्तु शक्रो वरुणकुबेरः……प्रणेतारं भुवनस्य प्रजापतिम् । समाजग्मुस्तत्र देवास्तथान्ये ॥ 1 ॥ *Mbh.* 1. 189.

58. गन्धमादनशृङ्गेषु कुबेरः सह राक्षसैः । संवृतोऽप्सरसां संघैर्मोदते गुह्यकाधिपः॥ *Mbh.* 6, 7. 32; cf. also 3. 161. 5.

59. See 3. 258. 16; 9. 46. 26.

60. उत्तरां (दिशं) धर्म्यां तथैलविलसंज्ञिताम् ॥ कुन्तीपुत्रो धनंजयः । प्रययौ उत्तरां तस्माद्दिशं धनदपालिताम् ॥ *Mbh.* 2. 24. 1.

61. कैलासनिलयः धनाध्यक्षः । *Mbh.* 3. 42. 31; 3. 14. 11; 3. 174. 2.

called the lord of alakā which may be the capital of his dominion,[62] or his pond of lotuses near his capital.[63]

It however appears from the same passage that K. came to rule over the north gradually in the course of time and not from the beginning. It is related in one passage that Dhaumya, holding Yudhiṣṭhira by the right hand, looked towards the east and said to him: 'This eastern direction is protected by Indra and Vaiśrvaṇa.'[64] In the *Karṇaparvan,* Karṇa describes to Śalya the gods who hold dominion over different directions. In that description, there is no mention of *K.* It is the god Soma who is described in that passage as holding sway over the Northern direction.[65]

It also appears that *K.* came to occupy a place among the four gods the regents of the four quarters late in his career. It is worth noting that *K.* does not figure among the four gods in the Nala-story of the *Mbh.* The four *Lokapālas* who attended the Svayaṁvara of Damayantī were Indra, Varuṇa, Agni and Yama;[66] K. has no place among them. In other passages, however, he replaces Agni and ranks as one of the four powerful gods, the regents of the quarters, who are referred to as standards of comparison for the valiant warrior.[67]

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62. कैलासभवने महेश्वरसखं बली । आह्वयामास कौन्तेयः संक्रुद्धमलकाधिपम् ॥
Mbh. 9. 10. 48; cf. also 12. 75. 4.

63. ......आदाय गन्धान् गन्धवहः नलिन्याश्चालकाख्यायाः मनोहृदयसंह्लादी वायुस्तमुपसेवते ॥ *Mbh.* 2. 10. 160-5.

64. इन्द्रवैश्रवणौ एतां दिशं रक्षतः ॥ *Mbh.* 3. 160-5.

65. प्राचीं दिशं श्रिता देवाः जातवेदः पुरोगमाः । दक्षिणां पितरो गुप्तां यमेन शुभकर्मणा । प्रतीचीं वरुणः पाति पालयन्नसुरान्बली । उदीचीं भगवान् सोमो ब्रह्मण्यो ब्राह्मणैः सह ॥ *Mbh.* 8. 30.76-77.

66. एवमुक्ते नैषधेन मघवान् प्रत्यभाषत । अमरान्वै निबोधास्मान्दमयन्त्यर्थमागतान् ॥ अहमिन्द्रोऽयमग्निश्च तथैवायमपांपतिः । शरीरान्तकरो नृणां यमोऽयमपि पार्थिव ॥ स वै त्वमागतानस्मान् दमयन्त्यै निवेदय । लोकपालाः सहेन्द्रास्त्वां समायान्ति दिदृक्षवः ॥

67. यमवरुणकुबेरवासवा वा यदि युगपत् सगणा महाहवे । जुगुपिषव इहैत्य पाण्डवं किमु बहुना सह तैर्जयामि तम् । *Mbh.* 8. 26. 60; cf. also 8. 68.

cf. "The grouping of Agni, Yama, Varuṇa and Indra is older than when Kubera is substituted for Agni."

—E. W. Hopkins—*Epic Mythology* quoted by J. N. Banerjee in his *Development of Hindu Iconography.*

It would be relevent in this connection to state that in some old texts, *K.* is not found included among the regent gods of the quarters. In the *Atharvaveda*,[68] Agni, Indra, Varuṇa and Soma are mentioned as the regents of the East, South, West and North respectively. In the *Gobhila-Gṛhya Sūtra*,[69] there is a mention of ten offerings made to the regents of the ten directions; the regents with their directions are as follows: Indra (East), Vāyu (South-East), Yama (South), Pitaraḥ (South-West), Varuṇa (West), Mahārāja (North-West), Soma (North), Mahendra (North-East), Vāsuki (*adhaḥ* = nether regions), and Brahmā (*ūrdhvam* = the upper regions). *K.* finds no mention among the regents of the *Atharvaveda*. If mahārāja mentioned in the *Gobhila gṛhya S.* refers to *K.*, then *K.* has under his lordship the north-west direction.

VII. *K. the lord and the guardian of treasures.*

K. besides being lord of untold wealth is also described as a guardian-god of treasures of gold and jewels. It is said that there were bars of gold 'as bright as the rays of the sun' on the side of the mountain Munjavat on the back side of the Himalaya and that they were guarded by the attendants of *K.* at his instance.[70] Yudhiṣṭhira, who wanted gold for his horse sacrifice, was advised by Vyāsa to tap the treasures of King Maruta lying buried on the side of the mountain. Before beginning to tap and dig for the treasures, Yudhiṣṭhira was asked by the Brāhmaṇas to pray Śiva and his attendants for success in their operations. Among the attendants of Śiva who are worshipped on this occassion, there is *K.* the presiding deity of wealth[71]—of Meru, the mountain of gold, a fourth part was allotted to *K.* who distributes portions of wealth from it among men.[72]

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68. *AV.* iii. 27. 1–4. cf. *Tattiriya Saṁhitā*, V–5–10.

69. XIV–IV–7–37–41 (*S. B. E.* Vol. XXX, p. 123) quoted by J. N. Banerjee in his *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Page 521.

70. तस्य शैलस्य (मुञ्जवतः) पार्श्वेषु । धातवो जातरूपस्य रश्मयः सवितुर्यथा । रक्ष्यन्ते ते कुबेरस्य सहायैरुद्यतायुधैः । चिकीर्षद्भिः प्रियं राजन्कुबेरस्य महात्मनः ॥ *Mbh.* 14. 8. 10-11.

71. किंकराणां ततः पश्चाच्चकार बलिमुत्तमम् । यक्षेन्द्राय कुबेराय मणिभद्राय चैव ह । पूजयित्वा धनाध्यक्षं प्रणिपत्याभिवाद्य च । प्रीतिमान्स कुरुश्रेष्ठः खानयामास तं निधिः ॥ *Mbh.* 14. 61. 5–11.

72. तस्मात् (मेरोः) कुबेरो भगवान् चतुर्थं भागमश्नुते । ततः फलांशं वित्तस्य मनुष्येभ्यः प्रयच्छति ॥ *Mbh.* 6. 7. 21.

VIII. *The Characteristic belongings of K.*

(i) The palatial house of K. is always used as a standard of comparison for the palaces of kings.[73] It has an assembly hall which has domes looking like the Kailāśa peak or a mass of white clouds. In that audience hall is seated, on the gorgeous seat provided with a footstool of wonderous beauty *K.* clad in multicoloured robes and decked with ornaments of wonderful variety, surrounded by celestial damsels.[74]

Distinguished guests were generously treated by *K.* by offering them comforts and entertainments at his palace. The sage Aṣṭāvakra lived for a year at his palace. He was pressed by *K.* to stay on but he left, bestowing on *K.* blessings of increasing riches and prosperity.[75]

(ii) The pleasure-parks of *K.* were famous. They were situated on the Gandhamādana, and Kailāśa, or near about his assembly hall.[76] The parks were full of trees like the Mandāra whose fragrance was wafted by the wind around. There were also lotus-ponds in the park. It was these rare fragrant lotuses on the Gandhamādana which had aroused the envy of Draupadī, and urged by her, Bhīma set out in quest of the fragrant lotuses and eventually encountered *K.*[77]

The name of *K's* pleasure-park current in classical Sanskrit literature is Caitraratha. In the *Mbh.* in some passages the word Caitraratha is found used as a standard of comparison for beautiful gardens or parks.[78] In one passage it appears to be the name of the park of *K.*[79]

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73. राजगृहं कुबेरभवनोपमम् । *Mbh.* 2. 52. 3; cf. also 12. 44. 10.

74. वैश्रवणीसभा कैलासशिखरोपमा । सिताभ्राशिखराकारा । वैश्रवणो राजा विचित्राभरणाम्बरः । स्त्रीसहस्रावृतः दिव्यपादोपधाने परमासने निषण्णः । *Mbh.* 2. 10–1–6.

75. *Mbh.* 13. 20. 7–27.

76. The pleasure-park is called *ākrīḍa*'. *Mbh.* 3. 151. 7; 3. 156. 27; 13–19. 16 ff; 2. 10. 7.

77. 3. 151-152.

78. 12. 312. 33; 8. 37. 10

79. (अत्र राक्षसयक्षाणां गन्धर्वाणां च) आधिपत्येन कैलासे धनदोऽप्यभिषेचितः अत्र चैत्ररथं रम्यम् ॥8-9॥ *Mbh.* 5. 109.

(iii) *The vehicle of K.*

Puṣpaka, *K's* conveyance, was made by Viśvakarman; it was provided not only with seats but also beds. It's edges or borders were most artistically designed and painted.[80] In one passage, Puṣpaka is described as being carried by swans.[81] Rāvaṇa took away Puṣpaka from Kubera. *K.* cursed Rāvaṇa saying that Puṣpaka would never carry him (*Rāvaṇa*) but that it would carry his enemy who would kill him in the battle.[82] After killing Rāvaṇa Rāma returned the Puṣpaka to *K.*[83]

In one passage, *K.* is described as having used a chariot yoked by the best horses of 'Clear eyes'. The charoit is described to be as high as a mountain-peak and like the clouds in the sky.[84].

IV. *The weapons of K.*

The particular weapon of *K.* is called 'Śibikā' which may be a sort of a mace. It is said that K. threw his weapon *'Sibikā'* at Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa when the latter were aiding the fire to consume the Khāṇḍava forest.[85] In another passage, the characteristic weapon of *K.* is called 'gadā' (a mace).[86]

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80. शय्यासनवरं श्रीमत्पुष्पकं विश्वकर्मणा । विहितं चित्रपर्यन्तमातिष्ठत धनाधिपः ॥ *Mbh.* 3. 158. 35.

81. वाहनं चास्य तद्‌वृत्तं हंसयुक्तं मनोरमम् । विमानं पुष्पकं दिव्यम्··· ॥ *Mbh.* 9. 46. 27.

82. विमानं पुष्पकं तस्य जहाराक्रम्य रावणः । शशाप तं वैश्रवणो न त्वामेतद् वहिष्यति ॥ यस्तु त्वां समरे हन्ता तमेवैतद् वहिष्यति॥ *Mbh.* 3. 259. 34-35.

83. *Mbh.* 3. 275. 68.

84. अथाभ्रघनसंकाशं गिरिकूटमिवोच्छ्रितम् । हयैः संयोजयामासुर्गान्धर्वैरुत्तमं रथम् ॥ तस्य सर्वंगुणोपेता विमलाक्षा हयोत्तमाः ।······स तमास्थाय भगवान् राजराजो महारथम् । प्रययौ ।···*Mbh.* 3. 158. 23–26.

85. कालदण्डं यमो राजा शिबिकां च धनेश्वरः (जग्राह) । *Mbh.* 1. 218. 31.

Nīlakaṇṭha comments on *Śibikā* as follows: शिबिकाम् इति पाठे शिबिका गदा इति प्राञ्चः । शिबिकामिति सानुस्वारपाठे तु तत्सदृशमीषद्वक्रमायुधमिति तु तत्त्वम् । तच्च द्रविडकैवर्तेषु, प्रसिद्धं दारुमयम् । लोहमयमपि बलवत्सु संभाव्यते ।

In a star passage 157 of *Harivaṁśa* (8–34) (critical edition of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona), it is said that Tvaṣṭā, the architect of the gods, fashioned out of the lusture of the sun the following weapons: the 'Cakra' of Viṣṇu, Triśūla of Śiva, śibikā of K. and *śakti* of Guha.

86. वरुणः पाशभृच्चापि कुबेरो वा गदाधरः ॥ *Mbh.* 6. 46. 7.

Another weapon or missile of K. referred to in the *Mbh.* is a weapon which 'conceals' or 'puts to sleep' (*antardhāna, prasvāpana*). This was the particular weapon which *K.* bestowed on Arjuna when the latter had met the four divine regents of the heavenly worlds (*Lokapāla*) after his encounter with Śiva.[87]

IX. *The household of K.*

Draupadī in her beauty is compared with the wife of *K.*[88] The wife is named *'Ṛddhi'*[89] and also 'Bhadrā'.[90]

The son of *K.* was named Nalakūbara.[91] Rambhā was the wife of Nalakūbara. *Rāvaṇa*, once attempted to seize Rambhā. He was cursed by Nalakūbara and was warned not to seize any women by force. This episode of the curse of Nalakūbara was disclosed by Trijaṭā to Sītā, while she comforted the latter by assuring her that she was already protected by the curse of Nalakūbara against Rāvaṇa.[92]

In the assembly hall (*Vaiśravaṇī Sabhā*) of K., there is a mention of Sri or Lakṣmi[93] as a member of the audience at his 'durbār'.

X. *The Heavenly world of K. as a place of resort (for some) after death*

Nārda said that he had heard from Indra the following: that Dhṛtarāṣṭra had only three more years to live and that thereafter,

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87. *Mbh.* 3. 42. 33.

88. अतीवरूपेण समन्विता त्वम्·······यद्येव राज्ञो वरुणस्य पत्नी यमस्य सोमस्य धनेश्वरस्य ।। *Mbh.* 3. 249. 2-3.

89. स्वाहायां च यथा वह्निर्यथा शच्यां स वासवः। यथा चन्द्रश्च रोहिण्यां यथाधूमोर्णया यमः। वरुणश्च यथा गौर्यां यथा चर्द्धयां धनेश्वरः ।।
Mbh. 5. 115. 8-9; cf. also 13. 134—3; 13. 151. 6.

90. यथा वैश्रवणे भद्रा वसिष्ठे चाप्यरुन्धती। यथा नारायणे लक्ष्मीस्तथा त्वं भव भर्तृषु ।। *Mbh.* 1. 191. 6.

91. See *Mbh.* 3. 358. 16; 9. 46. 26; 2. 10–18.

92. नलकूबरशापेन रक्षिता ह्यस्यनिन्दिते। शप्तो ह्येष पुरा पापो वधूं रम्भां परामृशन्। न शक्तो विवशां नारीमुपैतमजितेन्द्रियः ।। *Mbh.* 3. 264. 58. 59.

93. सदा भगवती च श्रीस्तथैव नलकूबरः *Mbh.* 2. 10. 18.
Nārada purāṇa (84. 12) appears to suggest that Śrī is the consort of *K.* See J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, p. 223.

he would go with Gāndhārī to the residence of *K.* where he would be treated with great hospitality.[94] Accordingly, Dhṛtarāṣṭra with Gāndhārī is said to have gone after death to the heavenly world of *K.*[95] It is said in another passage[96] that cowards who tried to flee and were killed on the battle-field went to the world of the Guhyakas. Warriors, who died fighting on the battlefield, with heroism, went to the world of Indra.

It appears from the above references that the heavenly world of *K.* was considered to be lower in rank than the worlds of other gods like Indra.

K. in classical Sanskrit Literature

The traits and the characteristics of *K.* as represented in the classical literature are found in their succinctness in the epithets of *K.* listed in the *Amarakośa.*[97] K. is a friend of Śiva, lord of Guhyakas, Yakṣas, Kinnaras, and Puṇyajanas. He is also called by such names as Vaiśravaṇa, Paulastya (Son of Pulastya) and Aiḍaviḍa (*ailavila*). Being a king of kings (Yakṣas) and lord of wealth, he also bestows wealth and glory. He owns the garden named Caitraratha and a vehicle named Puṣpaka. He lives in his capital Alakā on mount Kailāśa. He has a son named Nalakūbara. All the characteristics implied in this description in the Amarakośa agree with those indicated in the developing picture of *K.* in the *Mbh.* above. The only two epithets which are not substantiated in the descriptions of the *Mbh.* are *Manuṣyadharmā* and *Ekapiñga* which mean that he

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94. वर्षाणि त्रीणिशिष्टानि राज्ञोऽस्य परमायुषः ।। ततः कुबेरभवनं गान्धारीसहितो नृपः । विहर्ता धृतराष्ट्रोऽयं राजराजाभिपूजितः ।। *Mbh.* 15. 27. 10-11.

95. धृतराष्ट्रो धनेशस्य लोकान्प्राप दुरासदान् ।। धृतराष्ट्रेण सहिता गान्धारी च यशस्विनी । *Mbh.* 18. 5. 11-12.

96. ये तु संग्रामभूयिष्ठा याचमानाः पराङ्मुखाः । शस्त्रेण निधनं प्राप्ता गतास्ते गुह्यकान्प्रति ।। *Mbh.* 11. 26. 14.

97. कुबेरस्त्र्यंबकसखो यक्षराड् गुह्यकेश्वरः । मनुष्याधर्मा धनदो राजराजो धनाधिपः ।। किंनरेशो वैश्रवणः पौलस्त्यो नरवाहनः । यक्षैकपिङ्गैडविडश्रीदपुण्यजनेश्वराः ।। अस्योद्यानं चैत्ररथं पुत्रस्तु नलकूबरः । कैलासः स्थानमलका पूर्विमानं तु पुष्पकम् ।। *AK.* 1. 1. 68–70.

was like a human being in some respects and that one of his eyes was yellowish and perhaps squinting.[98]

It may be mentioned here that *K's* traits like those of a man as implied in the epithet *Manuṣyadharman* are represented in iconographical literature, in which he is shown to have moustaches. His epithet 'Ekapiñga' gets explained by a text in the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*.[99] In that text, it is said that while Śiva and his consort Umā were in privacy, K. pried at Umā with his left eye. As a result of the blinding lusture of Umā, his eye got singed and yellowish; he was thenceforth called *'ekākṣipiñgalin'* (having one eye yellowed and seared).

Iconolatrous and iconographical references to K.

With a view to getting an approximately overall picture of *K's* traits and characteristics, it would be interesting and instructive to supplement the information given above from the *Mbh.* and early Sanskrit literature with some important references to *K.* as he is represented in inconography and as an object of worship.

Kauṭilya, while describing the layout of the fortified city, says that a king should cause to be built in the centre of the city...... temples of Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, etc.[100]

Among "the Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs that are represented and labelled with identificatory inscriptions by the artists of Bharhut" is *"Kupira (Kubera)."*[101]

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98. The commentator Kṣīrasvāmin commenting on the above passage in *AK* explains the epithets *Manuṣyadharman* and *Ekapiñga* as follows:

मनुष्यस्येव धर्मः श्मश्रुलत्वादिर्यस्य मनुष्यधर्मा ।'''एकपिङ्गः पिङ्गलैकनेत्रत्वात् अतो भागुरिणा हर्यक्ष उक्तः ।।

99. देव्या दग्धं प्रभावेण यच्च सव्यं तवेक्षणम् । पैङ्गल्यं यदवाप्तं हि देव्या रूपनिरीक्षणात् ।। एकाक्षिपिङ्गलीत्येव नाम स्थास्यति शाश्वतम् ।

Rām. 7. 13. 30-31.

100. शिववैश्रवणाश्विश्रीमदिराग्रहाणि च पुरमध्ये कारयेत् ।। 2. 4. 17

—*Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, Part I, Edited by R. P. Kangle, University of Bombay.

101. See *'Development of Hindu Iconography,'* by J. N. Banerjee, p. 100

In Bharhut sculpture, 'Kubera stands on the back of a malformed, potbellied Yakṣa sitting on his haunches.'[102]

According to some scholars, a passage in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali refers to the temples of *K*.[103]

Varāhamihira[104] referring to the headgear of deities says that *K.* should be *vāma-kirīṭa* i.e. his *kirīṭa* should be placed slantingly on the left side of his head. *Kirīṭa-mukuṭa,* according to *Mānasāra* 'is a conical cap sometimes ending in an ornamental top carrying a central pointed knob.'[105]

The *Agnipurāṇa,*[106] while referring to respective positions of the temples of different deities in a town, enjoins that those of Yakṣa and Guha should be set up in the northern sector.

Hemādri states that the Yakṣas should be potbellied. According to him, Dhanādhipa, the king of the Yakṣas, holds a club (Gadā) in his hand.[107]

The *Viṣṇudharmottara*[108] refers to the following iconographic traits of K. : his northerner's dress and armour (*apicyaveśa* and *kavacī*), his four hands (the right ones carrying a mace and a spear, the left a jewel and a pot), his fangs and moustache, and his consort Ṛddhi seated on his left lap.

"A careful study of the texts characterising *K's* images brings out several important traits: he is usually two-armed (rarely four), holding a club or mace (*gadā*) in one of his hands, accompanied

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102. *Ibid.,* p. 342.

103. 'प्रासादे धनपतिरामकेशवानाम्' on Pāṇini II. 2. 34.

104. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā,* 57, verses 32, 47, 57. Quoted by J. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.,* p. 286.

105. *'Elements of Hindu Iconography'* (Vol. I by T. A. G. Rao quoted by J. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.,* p. 286.

106. 39. 12. See J. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.,* pp. 338 and 362.

107. तुन्दिला द्विभुजाः कार्या निधिहस्ताः मदोत्कटाः ।·····गदी वैश्रवणः ।।
Caturvargacintāmaṇi, Vol. II, *Vratakhaṇḍa* Pt. I, p. 138, quoted by J. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.,* p. 339n.

108. 3. 53. 1—7 quoted by J. N. Baberjee, *op. cit.,* p. 339.

by two *nidhis* (*Śaṅkha* and *padma*) personified or not, is sometimes terrific in appearance, has either a man (nara, no ordinary or mortal man but some mythical anthropomorphic type) or a lamb for his mount, is potbellied and long-armed........ There can be little doubt that many of these features are based on an iconographic type derived from the Kubera (Sometimes described as *Pañcika*) and the Hārītī compositions of the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra."[109]

Views on K. regarding his name Kubera and his other characteristics

The name kubera sounds strange and may be indicative of the strange, weird habitat out of which *K.* came into being and of some strange traits associated with him. Below are given the view in brief of some traditional works and of some distinguished modern scholars who have tried to investigate into the problem of *K.*

In the *Uṇādi-sūtras, K.* is derived from the root *kub* which, according to the commentator, means 'to cover'. *K.* is so called because he 'covers' or 'throws into background' the opulence of others.[110]

The lexicon *Śabdakalpadruma* quotes a verse from the *Vāyu-purāṇa,* which purports to say that *K.* was so called because he had a deformed body.[111] The views of E. W. Hopkins[112] are given in brief, below:

"*K's* name probably comes from *kub* (as *daṁśera* from *daṁś, guhera* from *guh*) to which the native authorities assign the word *kubra,* 'Cover' as hole and as forest, *kub* itself being explained as 'cover over'. *kubja* is 'bent'. *K.* is etymologically a spirit of cover. hiding. Hence he is chief Guhyaka (*guh* to hide) etymologically allied with *guhera*...... His son is Nalakūbara. Nala is nara, a spirit of water. There is a body of water underground where spirits abound.

109. J. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

110. कुम्बेर्नलोपश्च ॥ कुबेरः ॥ 62.

The commentator says: कुबि श्राच्छादने । श्रन्येषामैश्वर्यं कुम्बति इति कुबेरः ॥

111. वायुपुराणे—'कुत्सायां क्वितिशब्दोऽयं शरीरं वेरमुच्यते ।
कुबेरः कुशरीरत्वात् नाम्ना तेनैव सोऽङ्कितः ॥
—शब्दकल्पद्रुम ।

112. "Sanskrit Kabairos or Kubairos and Greek Kabeiros"—by E. W. Hopkins in "*Journal of the American Oriental Society,*" Vol. 33 (1903), pp. 55–70.

Nala is identical with nara and means a waterplant (of *nalina*) or water-spirit (of *nalasetu*) .... *K.* is first represented as a sprite of concealment living on that as his sustenance and associated with similar spirits 'the good people' (*puṇya jana*).

"*K's* association with Śiva rests on a deeper basis than the hills where they live together. Both are genii of productivity. In the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*[113] *K.* and *Īśāna* are invoked together and especially for the husband at the marriage ceremony........ *K.* is deva only in the later parts of the Epic. He is never thought of as a mere man, as he is never thought of as a god in the full sense of the term.

"In *Mahābhārata,* in marked contrast to other literature, we find lower mythology itself presented as worthy of regard. *K.,* a superior goblin, becomes a god...... The attendant spirits of Śiva have names reflecting *K's* own essential characteristics."

Manfred Mayrhofer has expressed his views on the problem of *K.* This is what he has to say, in brief:

"nala in nalakūbara (the son of Kubera): What does it mean? Does it mean 'small, young kubera'? More acceptable would be to suppose that *nala* or *naḍa* means a 'son'. It appears to be certain to me that *kūbara, Kūvara,* must have been taken as a collateral form (*nebenform*) of Kubera, from un-indogermanic name.

"There are a number of Indian words which are nearer to *Kūbara* which traditionally mean a 'humpback', e.g. *kubjah,* (Pālī) *khujjā,* (marathi) *khujā, kubra.* These words must not have come into existence in the soil of the Āryan language. They are traceable to Austro-Asiatic descent.[115] Kubera is included in this list. He is the possessor of misshapen, ugly form. He is three-legged and has only eight teeth............ Kubera is in line with Gaṇeśa who carries an Austro-Asiatic name (*Heramba-* (Prākṛt) *Herimba-Hiḍimba*) and also with his Lord Śiva

113. 1. 11. 7.

114. "Probleme eines alt-indischen Gottesnamens—" *Bertrage zur Namenforschung,* pp. 1781—181. Band 2 (1950-51) Heidelberg.

115. See F. B. J. Kuiper, *Proto-munda words in Sanskrit,* Amsterdam, 1948, 42ff.

whose name is Dravidian (Tamil Śiva=red). He is to be searched in the indigenous pre-Āryan Religiosität, rather than in central Asian or Indo-germanic inheritance."

L. V. *Schroeder* remarks[116] "Kubera's misshapenness is explained by the assumption that he, as earth-spirit, lived in the hollows and klefts of the earth."

Manfred Mayrhofer, while considering the word nalakūbara, refers to the meaning of 'nala' as interpreted by M. B. Emeneau. M. B. Emeneau's conclusions[117] regarding the interpretation of 'nala' are given, in brief, below:

"According to the few scholars......, the name (nala) is derived from the common noun meaning 'reed'. The etymologists in general, ignore the proper name. The lexicon—makers........perhaps imply this derivation in that they put the proper name and the common noun under one rubric.[118] Since we find that the commonly accepted derivation of the proper name is unsatisfactory, it is necessary to seek for a better. I venture to suggest a Dravidian Source. The South Indian Languages-Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu, Coorg, Tulu and Toda show a base *nal*, meaning "good." In Tamil, the base, as applied to persons or actions of persons connotes excellence, virtue, propriety, or beauty . . . . my suggestion is that Nala is a formation with the Sanskrit primary derivative suffix—*a* from this South Dravidian base and that the meaning is "the good man," or less probably "the handsome man". There would be nothing at all strange in finding that Southern lands not yet overspread by the culture couched in the Indo Āryan languages, had kings whose names were Dravidian (like nala) . . . . ." The Indo Āryan speakers who recorded the name (*naḍa*) in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (2.3.2.1, 2 which makes identification of *Naḍa Naiṣadha* with the *anvāhāryapacana* or the southernmost fire) knew nothing of its Dravidian origin and meaning, but, in an effort to make it meaningful within the terms of their own language, made

116. *'Indiens Literatur und Kultur in historischer Entwicklung'* p. 375, quoted by Manfred Mayrhofer (op. cit).

117. See 'A Dravidian Etymology of the Sanskrit proper name Nala'—(*University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, Vol. 12, No. 13, pp. 255—262.

118. Böhtlingk Roth, Monier Williams, Apte.

it accord in phonetics with their common noun '*naḍa*' (= reed). The Epic-composers, who spoke a somewhat different dialect from that of the Brāhmaṇa literature, either did not inherit the tradition that the proper name was homonymous with the common noun and therefore, preserved it in a form (presumably) nearer to the original".

It may be pointed out that Emeneau has not considered, along with the word 'nala,' the word nalakūbara. According to his interpretation of nala, nalakūbara would mean 'the handsome Kūbara.' In this connection, it may be noted that according to Jaina tradition nalakūbara is a spirit noted for his grace and good manners.[119] Again Nalakūbara wedded Rambhā the fairest of nymphs.

Emeneau, while suggesting that the name Nala in the story of Nala-Damayantī, has been taken from a South-Indian origin, should have, it is expected, considered other words such as Damayantī (the name of Nala's wife), Puṣkara (the name of Nala's brother) occuring in the frame of that story from the point of their etymology and origin. His hypothesis of a South-Indian origin of the word Nala would have been strengthened, if he could have also demonstrated a similar etymology of other names of persons and places intimately connected with Nala, in the frame of the story. As it is, his suggestion of a South-Indian origin of an isolated word like Nala appears to be far-fetched and fails to carry conviction.

Concluding General Remarks

Above is indicated, in brief outline, the development of *K.* from Vedic times onwards to the classical times, with special and detailed references to his career in the *Mbh.* By way of retrospect, the stages in his development and certain characteristics and trends pertaining to them may now be briefly indicated :

(i) In his name and in the description of some of his traits characterizing the beginning of his career lie embedded certain clues pointing to his origin in a milieu which appears to be non-Vedic and non-Āryan. He originally appears to be a spirit or a goblin lying concealed in the hollows and the clefts of the earth. Hiding, concealment, mysterious appearance and disappearance appear to be

119. See E. W. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

his characteristics. He must have had his rise out of the Superstitious fears of the common people or folk who had to work for their living in such occupations as digging and foodgathering in obscure, inaccessible, fearful places far away from human habitation. As his name appears to suggest, he must have inherited from the habitat in which he came into being, a dwarfish, misshapen body of a goblin. He became a chief of the goblins and had his retinue of rakṣāṁsi, nairṛtāḥ, and piśācāḥ. As vaiśravṇamahārāja, chief of the molesting spirits, he had to be propitiated with offerings.

(ii) *K's* intimate association with Śiva goes to strengthen the hypothesis of his non-Vedic, non-Āryan non-indigenous origin. The rise of the God Śiva, as it is acknowledged by competent scholars, has also issued out of a complex of beliefs and ideas entertained by the folks who inhabited or frequented the forests, the hills and the dales, obscure places and the untrodden ways. In fact, *K.* with his characteristic behaviour and the hosts of spirits or yakṣas of strange, misshapen forms who are described to have been present at his court,[120] as suggested by their queer, weird names, may well have been among the followers of Śiva. As an intimate of Śiva, *K.* was given an abode on the Himalaya and Kailāśa, the favourite resort of Śiva.

K. is bracked with Śiva as being the god of the folks (laukika). *K.* also shares with Śiva the fate of a late and tardy recognition by Vedic circles and of late admission into the comity of Vedic or Hindu divinities.

(iii) *K.* gradually came to shed off his evil or frightening traits and became a gentle, benevolent spirit. He came to include among his retinue a host of benevolent spirits such as the Guhyakas, Yakṣas, Kinnaras and Gandharavas and Apsarasas.

(iv) There appears a stage in the development of *K.* which is rather intriguing and can not be satisfactorily explained in an overall picture of his career. He is described to have been a human being[121] and to have become a lord of wealth and opulence by means of self-discipline. It is possibly due to this interlude in his career as a human being, that the traits and characteristics of a human being are attributed to him, that he is called 'manuṣyadharman'

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120. See note 24 above.

121. See note 9 supra. on *Mbh.* 3. 87. 2-3.

and that accordingly he has been portrayed in iconography as having a moustache.

(v) *K*. gradually became a god and was given a dominion over one of the heavenly worlds along with other gods. First, he was not given a status on par with other Vedic gods like Indra, Varuṇa and Agni. But gradually he attained that parity with other Vedic gods. Even then, he was not immediately given a place among the lords of the four quarters (dikpālas). As has already been mentioned above, in a famous story like the *Nalopākhyāna*, *K*. is not included among the four lords of the quarters. But in course of time, in the Mbh itself, he was recognised as one of the lords of the quarters, and the dominion of the Northern quarter was conferred upon him.

(vi) Though as a lord of the Northern Quarter, *K*. had a heavenly world of his own, peopled with the celestial beings such as Yakṣas, Guhyakas and Apsaras provided with the magnificient park Caitraratha and a prosperous capital Alakā, still his heavenly world was considered as a place of destination for the departed souls, lower in rank and importance than the other heavenly worlds such as those of Indra and others.

(vii) The development of *K*. from Vedic times through the *Mbh* to the classical times may be said to be representative of a typically assimilative and syncronistic trend in Hindu religious thought. As the Vedic Indians, in their onward march, came into intimate contact with the indigenous folk or the populace, there was bound to be interaction between the religious ideas and beliefs and the ways of life of the two peoples. During this process of interaction, the religious and cultural beliefs and ideas of the primitive indigenous population naturally infiltrated into the larger complex pattern of the religious thought of the Vedic Indians. During such infiltration, the primitive religious beliefs were transformed, adopted and suitably accommodated within the larger religious picture of the Indo-Āryans. Thus *K*. originally a goblin occupying a place in the beliefs of the common folks, first made his way into the beliefs of the Āryans as a chief of the malevolent spirits (rakṣas, nairṛta, piśāca) to be appeased and pacified with suitable offerings. Gradually, he became the chief of comparatively benevolent spirits like the Guhyakas, Yakṣas, Kinnaras and apsaras. Finally he rose to be a god, though secondary, occupying the outskirts of the Hindu pantheon.

In the process of his rise to godhood, *K's* traits no doubt underwent transformation but not to such an extent as to be out of recognition. His original trait of 'hiding' or 'concealment' (*antardhāna*) became a divine weapon having power to conceal or reveal according to one's desire objects and persons. His love of dwelling in the clefts and crevices was transformed to his fondness to reside on the inaccessible mountain-peaks. His intimate knowledge of the hiding places in the layers of the earth was transfused into his uncanny knowledge of the buried treasures underground which conferred upon him the honour of being invoked at the time of digging for treasures. The flattering reference to *K.* as the friend of Śiva appears to be a glorification of his original relation with Śiva, that great god of the indigenous populace; *K.* may have been originally one of the weird, misshapen spirits who formed the retinue of Śiva.

BHAVAPRĪTA-SANGEET

OR

A NEW LYRIC NOTE IN MAITHILI POETRY

By RAMANATHA JHA*

Vidyapati of Mithila is, indeed, the first great poet of the mediaeval time who set the fashion of composing literary songs in the spoken language of the land. It was his sweet warblings that brought in the veritable spring in the vernacular poetry of Northern India. There were two streams of poetry running side by side even at that time. The one was the Sanskrit poetry cultivated by the pandits and patronised by the high and the noble. The other was the folk-poetry composed in the native tongue mostly narrative or in songs. The poets of this folk-literature were generally not quite educated but possessed poetic talents and they were patronised by the common men and women. The practice of giving the poet's name in the final line called Bhanitā was there in the folk-poetry.

Jayadeva was the first great poet of Sanskrit who adopted the technique of folk-poetry in his *Gīta-govinda*. Vidyapati followed him and expressed the contents of Sanskrit poetry in the language actually spoken in the land in the form of songs. This is why Vidyapati was called Abhinava-Jayadeva. He made the delight which is there in Sanskrit poetry available to the common man not conversant with Sanskrit. To me the greatest contribution of Vidyapati towards the development of vernacular literature of this part of the country lies in the fact that he could infuse the poetic delight available only in Sanskrit into the new class of vernacular poetry which combined poetry with melody with such a consummate skill that it cou'd please both the ears and the mind of his audience. This process of adopting the folk forms for literary compositions has been the way, more or less, of all—literatures and Maithili which had only folk-literature at first, was the first among all the languages in North Eastern India to achieve the literary status by adopting the ways of Sanskrit poetry. If we look into

* Reader in Maithili, Bihar University, C. M. College, Darbhanga.

the history of any one of the popular forms of mediaeval Maithili poetry, SOHAR or SAMADĀUNI, MALĀR or LAGANĪ, RĀSA or HORĪ, CAUMĀSĀ or BĀRAHAMĀSĀ etc. we shall find that they had all been floating in the country-side among the common men and women from where some gifted poet took it and rendered it into a literary composition which caught at once the fancy of all lovers of poetry by its very novelty. These folk-songs have lost much of their freshness and naivete, homeliness and perspicuity in course of this transformation but they have added to our lyric variety and luxuriance.

This process has not, however, come to close. Even at the present time there is a consistent effort to give literary grace and refinement to a very popular form of folk-poetry prevalent in Santhal–Parganas round about Deoghar by a very gifted poet and musician: Shri Bhavaprītānandji Ojha. He is the Head Priest of the shrine of Vaidyanāth at Deoghar and is held in high esteem all over the Hindu world not only for his poetic talents but for his exemplary character and pious life. Poetry has been his hobby since he was a young man fifty years ago and though he writes in Bengali also, the major portion of his poetry is couched in the dialect of Maithili spoken on the South of the Ganges in the districts of Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Santhal Parganas. Bhavaprītānandji's lyrics have won him the award for folk-poetry from the Government of India but in the State of Bihar he has mostly been ignored because his language is not Hindi and people of Mithila did not know till very recently what was being done on the Eastern outskirts of Mithila in one of the most prominent dialects of Maithili. Naturally therefore the lyrics of Bhavaprītānand are known only round about Deoghar and they have not yet received that attention and celebrity which they deserve so richly by their intrinsic worth.

Quite early Bhavaprītānandji was delighted by two different types of folk-poetry sung to the accompaniment of native instruments namely JHOOMAR and GHAIRĀ. Jhoomar is accompanied with MĀNAR and GHAIRĀ with DAMPHĀ. He took these tunes and composed songs in his native dialect like all Jhoomars and Ghairās, but with literary grace, on important topics from the sublime to the ridiculous so that they are elegant in thought and diction, though folk in tune and dialectical in expression. He trained up a band of devoted artists to sing them in chorus and there is now a school of artistes in Deoghar and around who give

excellent performance of this music. In fact, on that side of the Ganges, Bhavaprīta-Sangeet has become perhaps the most popular form of musical performance.

Bhavaprītānand has written thousands of these Jhoomars and Ghairās, both as lyrics and as narrative poems. He has told the story of Rama's Banishment, Elopement of Rukmini etc. in a series of GHAIRĀS and Jhoomars so that they please the ears while they describe the whole episodes with full of feelings. What imparts special elegance to the music is the naturalness of the language in which the thoughts and feelings have so artistically been woven. The tunes are purely folk without any attempt to bring in classical grace there and they are therefore so refreshing, because so new to the ears sophisticated with the hybrid tunes heard all around.

Of the two types Jhoomar and Ghairā, the Jhoomar is still prevalent in central Mithila or even beyond. It has however a long history behind it. Vidyāpati says in one of his songs—

"गावहु हे सखि लोरि झूमरि मदन अराधनें जाउ ।'

Even in *Varṇaratnākara* there is mentioned Jhoomurā or Jhoomulā which seems to have been the popular name a century before Vidyapati. The tune of a Jhoomari in central Mithila to-day is different from the tune prevalent in the eastern region of Mithila but it is similar more or less to the Bhojpurī Jhoomara. To me it appears that the tune of a Jhoomari in central Mithila has been influenced by the tune of Bhojpuri but the genuine Maithili tune has been preserved in the outskirts of Mithila. It is fact that Maithili culture has from the earliest times been influenced by the cultures on the West while it has influenced the cultures on the East. The language spoken in Champāran or Western Muzaffarpur is greatly influenced by Bhojpuri while Maithili has influenced the dialects spoken across the Ganges and the Kosī. We observe this in the use of the personal pronouns of all the three persons. The old forms of the pronouns of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons as used by Vidyāpati, हमे, तोहें and हुनि are preserved in the eastern region, in Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Santhal Perganas and have been replaced in Central Mithila by the more sophisticated forms हम, अहाँ and तों, specially of the 2nd person which has come to have four forms, अपने, अहाँ, तों— both honorific and non-honorific. I am therefore inclined to believe that in the Jhoomari of the eastern region we may have the old indigenous Maithili tunes and if so, it requires to be studied and

investigated. Maithili music which was so widely cultivated is dying out for want of proper appreciation and any revival of the indigenous forms should be welcomed and encouraged. These songs are always sung in chorus, never solo, and this is characteristic of Maithili Music. This confirms the hypothesis that these Jhoomaris are typically Maithili. Fortunately, our old and respected poet, Bhavaprītānandji has done a signal service to Maiithili by resusciating the old Jhoomari and it is indeed a treat to hear the performance of these songs by the band of trained and devoted artistes of Deoghar.

And the lyrics of Bhavaprītānand have wonderful literary grace and elegance. In fact in his hands the eastern dialect of Maithili has attained literary expression and Bhavaprītānandji is the greatest among the great artists of eastern Maithili to have lent grace and elegance to that dialect which was till the other day a local patois. Here are given below three lyrics of Bhavaprītānand, one Ghairā and two Jhoomaris and they will prove what I have tried to show above that this new lyricism in Maithili is of great significance and show conclusively that new experiments on old lines, which fact is a sign of cultural and literary renaissance, are still being carried on and if properly understood and appreciated they may lend a literary grace to our eastern dialect which will without doubt be a matter of great pride and glory to Maithili. The new experiments of Vidyapati must have given the same sensational delight to the people of Mithila of the 14th century as the new lyricism of Bhavapritanandji gives to us and in that sense we can be perfectly justified in calling Bhavaprītānandji "Abhinava-Vidyapati" as Vidyapati was called "Abhinava Jayadeva".

१—संगीत—घैरा। वादन—डम्फा।

गणेश-वन्दना

प्रथमें जे बन्दौ शिवनन्दन हो गणपति गुणाधार।
गजपति वदन त्रिलोचन, गौरी-सुत ब्रह्म-अवतार।
तरुण अरुण तन सुन्दर हो सिन्दुरासँ उजिआर।
चारि हाथें दन्त पाशाङ्कुश कलश जे वारुणी आधार।
लाल पटम्बर पहिरन हो गले रतनक हार।
कपारें जे दुतिआके चन्दा मटुक शिरें मुषिक सवार।
विघ्ननाशक श्रीविनायक हो शिरें सिन्दुरा विस्तार।
भवप्रीता वन्दे चरण प्रभु करु दुख विपद निवार॥

२—संगीत—झूमरि। वादन—मानर

कोयलिया

कोयलिया कोयलिया एहाँ काहे राती करे सोर।
एहाँ जे विधुरा बाला बहाबए लोर।
मथुरामे बोलें जहाँ कालिया किशोर।
कोयलिया, कुबजीसें करए किलोर।
केलिकुञ्जें वासा बाँधि करिहें अनोर।
कोयलिया जहाँ वंसी टेरए मनचोर।
लें जाही मोरा—भौंरा—मलय झिकोर।
कोयलिया, भवप्रीता युगलभावें भोर॥

३—संगीत—झूमरि। वादन—मानर

बँसुरिया

बँसुरिया बँसुरिया तानमे जोरलें कइसें वाण।
बाँसके बँसुरिया तों नाहि आँखि कान।
बँसुरिया, तइओ कइसें अचुक निसान॥
छिनलें मदनसँ कि भेटलो दान।
बँसुरिया, जही फुलबाणें इ गुमान॥
सबदें मिलाय तीरा करे वरिषान।
बँसुरिया, लेलें कते अबला परान॥
सवद ब्रह्म मिलावय कृष्ण भगवान।
बँसुरिया, भवप्रीताके हरि-पदे ध्यान॥

AMṚTKAR: A DRAMATIST AND HIS PATRON

By DR. SHAILENDRA MOHAN JHA*

In the history of Maithili Literature, Amṛtkar has been placed among the contemporaries of Vidyāpati.[1] His Padas have been found in old anthologies. Two of them are available in 'Nepal manuscript of Vidyāpati Padāvali,[2] one in 'Rāgtaraṅgiṇī'[3] and two more in 'Rāmbhadrapur Padāvali.'[4] Up to this date only these five of his Padas are available in printed form. In the Bhanitās of these Padas, N̄amiñakar, Amṛta, Amṛtkar, Amiñakar etc. various forms of the same name have been used.[5] No doubt, all these forms pertain to a single individual. Certainly we have no reason to doubt as these varieties of spelling a singular name was quite common in the early Maithili Language.[6] So far as mentioning the names of his patrons is concerned, in the Bhanitās of his Padas we find the names of Mahārāj Śivasiṁha, and Mahārāj Bhairava Siṁha of the oinwār dynasty of Mithila.[7] From this it may be assumed that he lived on to the days of Mahārāja Bhairava Siṁha (1446 ?—1482 ?). Mahākavi Vidyāpati was alive till the days of Mahārāja Bhairava Siṁha and according to his wishes the great poet had compiled his book named

* Lecturer, Department of Maithili, University of Bihar (C. M. College, Darbhanga).

1. Vide, *A History of Maithili Literature*, Vol. I by Dr. J. K. Mishra (Allahabad 1949), Page 196.

2. *Vide, Vidyāpati Padāvali*, Pt. I Published by Bihar Rāṣṭra Bhāṣā Pariṣad, Patna, Page 377.

3. Vide, *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* (Darbhanga 1934), Page 8.

4. Vide, *Vidyāpati Viśuddha Padāvali*, Page 75 & 91.

5. (A) भनइ ञमिञाकर सुनु मधुरापति राधा चरित अपारे ।
   (B) भनइ अमृत अनुरागे, कपटे कुसुमसर कौतुके गावे ।
   (C) भनइ अमृतकर भलि एहु बानी ।
   (D) भनइ अमिञाकर नागरि नाम ।

6. Vide, *A History of Maithili Literature*, Vol. I, Page 198 (ft. n. 10).

7. (A) राजा शिवसिंह रूपनराएन लखिमा देइ कण्ठहारे । (*Rāgtaraṅgiṇī*, Page 85)
   (B) जसमा देवि रमाने भैरवसिंह भूप रस जाने ॥
   —*Vidyāpati Viśuddha Padāvali*, No. 68

'Durgābhakti-taraṅgiṇī'. In this way Amṛtkar happens to be a contemporary of Mahārāj Śivasiṁha, Mahārāj Bhairava Siṁha as well as of the great poet Vidyāpati. Amṛtkar served as a minister of Mahārāj Śivasiṁha and that is but an established fact. In a Pada prevalent with the Bhaṇitā of *'Kavikaṇṭhahār'* his (Amṛtkar's) scholarship, statesmanship, generosity and many other qualities of head and heart have been recognized.[8] On the basis of the geneology as presented by Babu Bholalal Das,[9] he was the well known son of Candrakar, a Kāyastha minister of Mahārāja Śivasiṁha and comes of the family of Śridhardāsa, a minister of Nānyadeva of the Karṇāt dynasty of Mithila.

Indeed Vidyāpati's age was a golden age for the Maithili Literature. With the patronage and inspiration of the Oinwār kings, the whole atmosphere was beaming with intellectual fervour. Amṛtkar emerged out in the same period and quite at tune with the age his heart was full of extraordinary sensibility. That was an age of lyric poetry in Maithili. The entire literature of the period is available to us in lyric form. This kind of lyric may be called *'Geya Muktaka'* (गेय मुक्तक). According to the characteristic of 'मुक्तेन मुक्तकम्' a whole poem being free from any context with prior or post references is named *'Muktaka'* (मुक्तक) Such a sort of lyric remains पद्यान्तर निरपेक्ष i.e. quite free from and independent of other Padas and so it does not require any reference or any correlation with other verse in order to understand the meaning there of. The principal 'Rasa' of Vidyāpati's songs is 'Sṛṅgāra'. The names of Rādhā' and 'Kṛṣṇa' were in such a way mingled in the erotic literature that by adding the names of these well known love consorts, one can very freely assume the appropriate context. But we find even such Padas, as are found at present in the shape of independent

8. Vide *Introduction to Vidyāpati Kāvyāloka* by Narendra Nath Das (Page—१८). The Pada has been quoted there as follows:

नीति निपुण गुणनाह अंक मे अतिशय आगर ।
कोष काव्य व्याकरण अधिक अधिकारक सागर ।
सबकर कर सम्मान सबहुँसँ नेह बढ़ाविअ ।
विप्र दीन अति दुखी सबहुँकाँ बिपत्ति छोड़ाविअ ।
कायस्थ माँ सुर सिद्ध भउ चन्द्र तुलाइव ससिधर ।
'कवि कंठहार' कल उच्चरइ अमिअ बरस्सइ अमिअकर ।

9. Vide, 'आसामी सभ्यतापर मिथिलाक प्रभाव ।' An essay published in *'Vibhūti'* I, Vol. 7, Page 15.

verses, to be the constituent songs of some drama or other and they can be fully interpreted only when we come to know the exact context and consider the same with the knowledge of the plot of the drama. We are in possession of such Padas of Amṛtkar. A Pada by the Poet found in *Nepal Padāvali* follows fully in this form :—

Dah dis bhami bhami locan āba
Tesari dosari katahu na pāba
Lagahi achali dhani bihi hari lela
Talitlatā Sāgarikā bheli
Hari Hari virahe chuila Bacharāja
Badan malān kañona karu āja
Chāndan sitalatā tāheri kāe
Takhane na bhelie hṛdaya mohi lāye
Te adhikāili mānasa ādhi
Dhak dhak kara Madanānala dhādhi
Bhanai Amiñakara nāgari nāma
Āk bikaelihi sirijala kāma.[10]

It is proper to remember the *'Ratnāvalī-Nāṭikā'* of 'Śrī Harṣa', confronting the names *'Sāgarikā'* and *'Bacharāj'* (बछराज = वत्सराज = उदयन) in this verse. 'Sāgarikā,' like lightening disappeared instantaneously showing 'Vatsarāj Udayan,' the King of *'Kauśāmbī'* her sensuous charm. For 'Udayan' this short meeting and responsive

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10. दह दिस भमि भमि लोचन आब ।
तेसरि दोसरि कतहु न पाब ॥
लगहि अछलि धनि बिहि हरि लेल ।
तलितलता सागरिका भेलि ॥ध्रु०॥
हरि हरि विरहे छुइल बछराज ।
वदन मलान कञोन करु आज ॥
चान्दन सीतलता ताहेरि काए ।
तखने न भेलिए हृदय मोहि लाए ॥
ते अधिकाइलि मानस आधि ।
धक धक कर मदनानल धाधि ॥
भनइ अमिञाकर नागरि नाम ।
आँक बिकएलिहि सिरिजल काम ॥

—*Vide, Vidyāpati Padāvali*, Part I (Bihar Rāṣṭra Bhāṣā Pariṣad, Patna) Page 378.

mood of the sweet maiden, turned into a deep separation. Truly speaking the context is that of the second Act of *'Ratnāvalī-Nāṭikā'*, when the king 'Udayan' and 'Sāgarikā' the beautiful lady saw each other for the first time in the *'Kadalīgṛhā'*, abode of plantain trees.

The story value, which is required to appreciate the true sense of the above quoted 'Pada', compels one to contemplate that this is a song of a drama, not an independent verse. The tradition of writing drama interspersed with Maithili songs had been pioneered by *'Jyotirīśvara'*. His comedy named *'Dhūrttasamāgama-Nāṭaka'* is to be referred to, in this context.[11] 'Vidyāpati' accelerated this tradition by creating his *'Gorakṣavijayanāṭaka'*[12] and it seems that 'Amṛtkara' gave it force with the creation of his *'Ratnāvali-Nāṭikhā*. Maithili dramas had speciality of their own. The dialogues were in 'Sanskrit' and 'Prākṛt'. In between them were Maithili songs or poem pieces. Commonly in those songs or padas the preceding or following 'Sanskrit' 'Ślokas' were interpreted. These songs were capable of giving the required help to the common audience to understand the incident–development and plot-construction of the performance.

No other song related to the subject matter of Amṛtkar's *'Ratnāvalī-Nāṭikā'* has been published so far. But in the *'Rāṣṭrīya Abhilekhālaya'*, the National Archives of Nepal, there is a manuscript entitled *'Bhāṣā-Geeta Saṅgraha'* in which we find two Padas of Amṛtkar, definitely from the said *'Ratnāvali-Nāṭikā'*. This manuscript of *'Bhāṣā Geeta Saṅgraha'* is a newly acquired asset of the National Archives of Nepal. Earlier this collection of songs was in the personal library of Rajguru Hemraj Sarma of Nepal. Rajguru's library was later on, donated to the National Library of Nepal and then along with other manuscripts to the National Archives of Nepal. Therefore, in the published catalogue of manuscripts of the National Archives (Formerly the catalogue of the Vīr Library) this new find is yet to be included. Dr. Jayakanta Mishra in course of writing his *History of Maithili Literature* had seen this manuscript in the Library of Rajguru Hemraj Sarma and he has referred to it under the name of *"Kaṁsa-Nārāyaṇa-Padāvalī"*.[13]

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11. Vide, *Maithili Dhūrttasamāgama-Nāṭaka*, Published by Maithili Sahitya Samiti, Allahabad.

12. Vide *Gorakṣavijayanāṭaka*, Published by Maithili Sahitya Samiti, Allahabad.

13. Vide, *A History of Maithili Literature*, Vol. I Page 195.

Why Dr. Mishra named it 'Kaṁsa-Nārāyaṇa Padāvali' without having any reference to this name has its reasons. The last song no. 146 of this *'Bhāṣā-Geeta-Saṅgraha'* is written by the poet Govinda, a court–Poet of 'Kaṁsa Nārāyaṇa, the last of the Oinwar kings of Mithila. The translation of every quatrain of this song has been rendered into Sanskrit. The last quatrain follows in this form :—

Dhani dhairaja kara Govinda bhāsa.
Sāyar sayana tusāra tarāsa.
Kaṁsanārāyaṇa bhūpati jāna.
Soramapati ati gunaka nidhāna.[14]

The Sanskrit rendering of this is as quoted below :—

धैर्यं कुरु प्रेयसि माधवस्य का शीत-भीतिः स्वप्नतः समुद्रे ।
श्रीकंसनारायणभूमिभर्त्ता वेत्तास्य गोविन्दसुभाषितस्य ।।

Perhaps the *'Kaṁsa-Nārāyaṇa'* of this 'Śloka' induced Dr. J. K. Mishra to take the whole collection in the name of *'Kaṁsa-Nārāyaṇa-Padāvali.'* This anthology contains 146 poems of 24 different poets including Vidyāpati. As Dr. Mishra has pointed out, "No name of compiler or the date of compilation is found in the manuscript. The manuscript is in fairly beautiful 'tirhutā' and appears to be 200 years old."

One (Song no. 93) of the two songs referred to earlier is being extracted here :—

Chitra likhia anumāne.
Hamarahu nagar pujia pañcavāne.
Baḍa kautuka ehi ṭhāme.
Paratakha bhae pūjā lethi kāme.
Namo Namo kusumasare.
Hamahu pūjao dehe abhayavare.
Da-ie paṭhailihũ tātẽ.
Ehi nagarī ke na bujhia bāte

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14. घनि धैरज कर गोविन्द भास ।
सायर सयन तुसार तरास ।।
कंसनारायण भूपति जान ।
सोरमपति अति गुनक निधान ।।१४६।।

Puhuvihi achha esagarõ
Ehi sani na dekhia dosari nagarī
Sukavi Amiñakara bhāne
Kṛṣṇacaraṇa bujha gunaka nidhāne.[15]

This song is from the second Act of 'Ratnāvali Nāṭikā'. In fact in it the prose dialogue of 'Sāgarikā' has been given a lyrical tune. Queen 'Vāsavadattā has to worship 'Kāmadev', the God of Love in *'Makarandodyān' the garden of Jasmin flowers*. On that occasion, king 'Udayan' has been requested to be present there. At the same time the queen sees 'Sāgarikā'. She thinks that she (Sāgarikā) will fall in the sight of the king, to avoid from which she has been kept with much care. It was natural for the queen to think of the lustful king *'Udayan'* being attracted by a beautiful damsel like 'Sāgarikā'. So she evades 'Sāgarikā' from there, directing her to look after 'Sārikā', a tamed bird. But the clever 'Sāgarikā' had already put 'Sārikā' in the safecustody of 'Kāñcanamālā'. Truly speaking she was very eagar to see the adoration of 'Kāmadev'. 'Kāmadev' is worshipped also at her Father's home but whether the 'Pūjā' here will be performed in the same way or other was the cause of her curiosity. She contemplates to see the same stealthily. Again, till the time of final worship she engages herself in cutting flowers for the 'Pūjā' of 'Kāmadev' on her part. Later on the queen 'Vāsavadattā' worships the God of Love, embellishing the tree of 'Aśoka' with flowers, sandal, saffron and

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15. चित्र लिखिअ अनुमाने ।
हमरहु नगर पुजिअ पँचवाने ।।
बड़ कौतुक एहि ठामे ।
परतष भए पूजा लेथि कामे ।।
नमो नमो कुसुमसरे ।
हमहु पूजओ देहे अभयवरे ।।
दइए पठइलिहुँ तातें ।
एहि नगरी के न बुझिअ बाते ।।
पुहुविहिँ अछ एसगरों ।
एहि सनि न देखिअ दोसरि नगरी ।।
सुकवि अमिञाकर भाने ।
कृष्णचरण बुझ गुनक निधाने ।।९३।।

other things. Thereafter finishing 'Kāmadeva's Pūjā', she worships the king. Seeing all these 'Sāgarikā' thinks in this way—" (with flowers). It is very late cutting flowers, so I am watching from under the tree of 'Sindhuwār'. (Seeing with surprise) 'Kāmadev' is accepting the worship, then I too am worshipping him from here with these flowers (turning and offering flowers) O God 'Kāmadev', I express my veneration to you. (Saying this and making obeisance) saw, what was to be seen. The only special aspect is that here 'Kāmadev' accepts worship presenting himself in person while at my Father's home he is worshiped in pictorial form. So let me move from here before any one sees me." Truly speaking, the king 'Udayan' was the 'Kāmadev' incarnate for the devoted 'Sāgarikā'. Amṛitkar has put here the whole prose piece from the original Sanskrit drama into a lyrical composition.

The second song (Song No. 87) also is related to the second Act of the play. The song is as follows :—

Vāsavadattā pūja-e kāma
Āili Makarand Vana abhirāma
Vadan rūpa dekhi sabe keo bola
Cāndaka maṇḍala kuṇḍala ḍola
Alakāvali saṁsaẽ avalamba
Timiraka ãkura kī sasi bimba
Kichu Janu pūchaha adharak bāta
Amiẽ sicala jani surataru pāta.[16]

In the present song there is a punning of the word 'Amiẽ'. On the one hand it denotes Nectar; on the other hand it embodies the poetic name. In the 'Pada' the queen 'Vāsavadattā', while worshipping 'Madan' the Cupid, has been sketched. Reading the

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16. वासवदत्ता पूजए काम ।
आइलि मकरन्द वन अभिराम ।।
बदन रूप देखि सबे केओ बोल ।
चान्दक मण्डल कुण्डल डोल ।।
अलकावलि संसएँ अवलम्ब ।
तिमिरक आँकुर की ससि बिम्ब ।।
किछु जनु पूछइ अधरक बात ।
अमिएँ सिंचल जनि सुरतरु पात ।।८७।।

original drama, it becomes obvious that the song is not Maithili rendering of any 'Śloka rather an independent song of the poet, composed on the basis of king Udayan's description regarding the queen's uncommon beauty.

But what about other songs besides these three? It is also natural to be inquisitive about the whereabouts of the complete drama. Up to this date no historian has either referred to any drama by Amṛtkar or has treated him as a playwright or translator of *'Ratnāvalī Nāṭikā'*. But in the light of the above quoted Padas it is almost certain that 'Amṛtkar', following 'Śri Harṣa's' *'Ratnāvalī Nāṭikā'* had composed the drama of the same name. If a sincere procedure of research and examination of ancient Maithili manuscripts is adopted, undoubtedly we will be able to trace out Amṛtkar's work. The vast store of Maithili manuscripts is safely preserved in the libraries of Nepal. Therefore it is hoped that the other Padas of Amṛtkar as well as his complete drama may be discovered sometime there.

The poetic literature of Maithili is very vast. It abounds in a lot of songs. But according to the afore-given description, a conclusion may be drawn to this effect that most of these songs are from some dramas and not independent verses. Dr. Sukumar Sen much earlier has pointed this out in his work entitled *'Vidyāpati-Goṣṭhī'*.[17] As he has expressed "It can be imagined that the Pada of *'Kalikā-Vandanā'* extracted in *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* is a benedictory verse of some dramatic composition of Vidyāpati. The Pada is undoubtedly Vidyāpati's, because there is reference of हासिनि देवि पति गरुड़नरायण देवसिंह नरपति [18] in the Bhanitā. The two padas of poet Bhiṣma, in which the names of "जगनारायण-प्रभावती देवी" have been referred to, seem to be extracted from some drama based on the narrative of 'Urvaśī-Purūravā'.[19] So how many songs are independent padas and how many are from dramas is a matter related to research.

Even after accepting the existence of Amṛtkar's *'Ratnāvalī Nāṭikā'*, one thing remains to be ascertained as to, who was the inspirer of this drama? Whom it was that Amṛtkar wrote to

17. Vide, *Vidyāpati Goṣṭhī*, Hindi translation by Dr. S. M. Jha (Laheria Sarai) Page, 43.

18. Vide, *Rāgataraṅgiṇī*, Page 89-90.

19. *Ibid*, Pages 42-43, 57-58.

please? Or by whose order or request did he write it? Amṛtkar was a minister to King Śivasiṁha. In a 'Bhanitā' of his Pada we find the name of this king along with his royal consort 'Lakhimā'.[20] Similarly in one of his padas he has referred to Bhairavasiṁhā and his queen Jasamā Devī.[21] But in the afore-said three Padas of the drama there is a reference to neither Śivasiṁha nor Bhairavasiṁha. In one Pada, however, there is the reference to one 'Kṛṣṇacaraṇ' whom the poet has described by saying गुणक निधाने, store-house of qualities. But who was this 'Kṛṣṇacaraṇ'? The very problem is that it is nowhere in the Bhanitās of Vidyāpati or any contemporary poets that the name of the person entitled 'Kṛṣṇacaraṇ' has been referred to. One poet named 'Catur Caturbhuj' has definitely mentioned the name 'Kṛṣṇacaraṇ' in one of his padas.[22] In this pada of 'Laganī' a form of folk-music, he points to this unknown personality combining with his name adjectives like रसनागर conversant with sentiments, गुणसागर, ocean of qualities and त्रिभुवन आगर, having the knowledge of the three worlds. This Pada too, has been compiled in the aforesaid *'Bhāṣā-Geeta-Saṅgrah'* (Song No. 132). As such this stands as a clear evidence of the contemporaneity of 'Caturbhuja and 'Amṛtkar'. However this does not clear off the mist around the identity of 'Kṛṣṇacaraṇ'. Still it can be guessed that 'Kṛṣṇacaraṇ' might have been some dignified but less known personality related to the family of Oinwar kings or that of contemporary ministers. When the identity of this important personality which is shrouded in ignorance, will be brought to light, Maithili literature will surely find in him a great patron, a literary connoisseur and an appreciator of excellence.

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20. Vide, ft. n. 7.
21. Vide, ft. n. 7.
22. The complete poem is quoted here:

आध वदन तनु झापे ओ आध पयोधर रे ।
आँचर बसने झँपाइए गाव मधुर सरे रे ।।
पिसए बैसलि धनि कौतुके समुचित सखि संगे रे ।।
दगध मनोज जिआवए अनुखने तने भंगे रे ।।
पीन पयोधर धर भरेँ दुहु दुहु पेलए रे ।
मनमथ नृपति निदेसे जौवन गज खेलए रे ।।
सेद सलिलें तनु लागल अपरुव अंसुक रे ।।
धनि बेकताएल अभिनव नख खत किंशुक रे ।।
चतुर चतुरभुजे गाओल रस बुझ नागर रे ।
कृष्णचरण गुनसागर त्रिभुवन आगर रे ।।१३२।।

क्षेमेन्द्रकृत बृहत्कथामञ्जरी में भारतीय संस्कृति तथा सामाजिक आधुनिक विचारधारा

डा० (श्रीमती) प्रतिभा तिवारी

स्वर्गीय डा० उमेश मिश्र ने अपने तपःपूत जीवन के पुण्य क्षणों को भारतीय संस्कृति के विशद अध्ययन, अन्वेषण और चिन्तन में लगा कर केवल भारत के ज्ञान भंडार को ही सम्पन्न नहीं किया अपितु सम्पूर्ण जगत् के ज्ञान वैभव की वृद्धि की है। हम अपनी श्रद्धाञ्जलि उनके प्रशस्त पथ पर आचार्य क्षेमेन्द्रकृत बृहत्कथामञ्जरी में प्राप्त कतिपय आधुनिकतम वैज्ञानिक, दार्शनिक और सामाजिक सूक्तियों के रूप में, जिनमें आचार्य क्षेमेन्द्र का स्वतन्त्र मानवीय दृष्टिकोण प्रखरता से उद्भासित है–समर्पित करते हैं।

भारतीय वाङ्मय में आचार्य क्षेमेन्द्र का योगदान अत्यन्त उदात्त और महत्त्वपूर्ण है। जनता को जनार्दन मान उसके कल्याणार्थ सामाजिक, साहित्यिक, दार्शनिक विविध विषयों पर उन्होंने विभिन्न गवेषणापूर्ण ग्रन्थ लिखे हैं। अपने व्यापक सूक्ष्म निरीक्षण से, आलोचनात्मक उदार प्रबोधक प्रवृत्ति से भारतीय दर्शन तथा जीवन में प्रविष्ट दुर्दान्त कुरीतियों और कमियों का स्पष्टीकरण कर उन्हें दूर करने के सुझावों से सम्पन्न किया है, जिससे वे विश्वव्यापी हों और जगत् के लिये पूर्णतया हितकारी हों।

शाश्वत काल से उत्पन्न परस्पर विरोधी तत्वों की जटिलता और विषमता को किन उपायों और प्रयोगों से दूर कर सुखसाध्य बनाया जाय तथा संसार में "प्राणी मात्र समान हैं" इस उदार भावना का प्रसार कर सन्तुलन स्थापित किया जाय जिससे सभी सुखी हों और अबाधगति से विश्वबंधुत्व की भावना बढ़े इत्यादि प्रश्नों का समाधान देश काल और पात्रानुसार क्षेमेन्द्र ने बड़े ही सुबोध और सरल तरीके से किया है। विशाल समाज का एक अंश है स्वामी सेवक वर्ग। इस वर्ग में अत्यधिक असन्तोष है क्योंकि दोनों पक्ष अन्योन्य को अपना विरोधी घातक वञ्चक समझते हैं जिससे भारतीय संस्कृति के महत्वपूर्ण स्तंभ स्वरूप विश्व बंधुत्व की भावना पर आघात होता है और स्वास्थ्यप्रद सम्बन्ध नहीं स्थापित होता। अतः आचार्य क्षेमेन्द्र उस स्वामी वर्ग को जो धन की दृष्टि से समर्थ है, समझाते हैं "यस्योपजीव्ये न प्रीतिः कुतः तस्योपजीवके"[1] अर्थात्

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* अध्यक्षा, संस्कृत विभाग, महिला कालेज, लखनऊ।

१—बृहत्कथामञ्जरी, पृ० ५७१, श्लोक ३८२।

दो भिन्न विशाल सामाजिक वर्गों में यदि परस्पर प्रीति, विश्वास, सहिष्णुता, त्याग आदि की भावनायें न हों तो राष्ट्र का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण अंग दूषित मनःस्थिति से गलित विकृत बनकर समाज, राष्ट्र और संसार का बड़ा अकल्याण करेगा, उसे निर्बल बना देगा और सर्वत्र अशान्ति का साम्राज्य स्थापित हो जावेगा अतः दो भिन्न वर्गों में भी परस्पर स्नेह के आदान-प्रदान से ही विश्वमैत्री स्थापित हो सकेगी। यही सनातन मानव धर्म है।

जब मानव व्यक्तिगत रूप से धर्म, यश, कल्याण, लाभ, हानि को अपने तक सीमित मानकर बढ़ेगा तो समष्टि रूप में स्थित समाज का कैसे भरण-पोषण और परिवर्धन हो सकेगा ? यह वस्तु केवल 'मेरी' है इससे लाभ केवल 'मेरा' होगा आदि भावनाओं से युक्त होने पर कोई अन्य के दुःख-सुख के प्रति अपने उत्तरदायित्व को नहीं समझेगा इससे मतिभ्रम होगा और संसार का अहित होगा। इन विचारों से युक्त क्षेमेन्द्र दर्पान्ध मतिभ्रष्ट मानव पर आक्षेप करते हुये कहते हैं—**"ये सेव्यमानाः कुप्यन्ति प्रसीदन्ति च वञ्चिताः।"**[२] मतिवैपरीत्य देखिये इन उच्चासनस्थ धनिक वर्गों की, जो कुपित रहते हैं उन बेचारे सेवकों से, जो सतत उनके संकेतों पर चलते-चलते अपने प्राणों की आहुति भी देने को तत्पर हैं और अयथार्थ चाटुकारिता और वञ्चना में चतुर धोखे-बाजों से छले जाने पर उनसे प्रसन्न रहते हैं। कैसी बुद्धि विडम्बना है इन उलूक-वाहिनी लक्ष्मीवानों की। आचार्य उन्हें सचेत करते हैं सत् असत् के प्रति अपने आक्षेपक वाग्बाणों से तथा उनके ज्ञानचक्षु उद्घाटित करते हैं उनके व्यवहारों के दुष्परिणामों के प्रति तथा दलित सेवक वर्ग को प्रोत्साहन और आत्मबल देने के लिये बड़े ही सरस शब्दों में कहते हैं—

नमोऽस्तु तस्य सेवायै सर्वसिद्धिभुवा यया।
यक्षा अपि वशं यान्ति दुर्लक्षा विषमाशयाः।[३]

अन्यत्र निराश सेवावृत्ति से परिश्रान्त दलित सेवकों की भूरि-भूरि प्रशंसा करते हुये कहते हैं—

अहो व्रतमिदं तीक्ष्णं योगिनः सेवकस्य च।[४]

सत्य ही यह सेवावृत्ति और योग साधन महा दुःसाध्य हैं अतः धन्य हैं सेवक-वृन्द। उनकी यह सेवावृत्ति सर्वसिद्धिकरी है। दुर्गम से दुर्गम, संदिग्ध से संदिग्ध अप्राप्य वस्तुयें भी इससे सुगम और सुखसाध्य बन जाती हैं। इन प्रोत्साहनों से असंतुष्ट वर्ग

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२. बृ० क० मं०, ५६८।
३. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० १९२, श्लोक ५४२।
४. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० २०७।

प्रफुल्लित हो उठता है और दूर हो जाता है असन्तुलन दो असन्तुष्ट वर्गों का। इसी संतुलन स्थापना में निहित है समाजवाद का मूलमंत्र कि सब समान हैं।

क्षेमेन्द्र भारतीय समाजवाद के वरिष्ठ समर्थकों में से हैं। राष्ट्र तथा संसार एकाकी इकाई नहीं अपितु सबसे निर्मित, सबके लिये, और सबका है। इसके विपरीत जब मनुष्य अपनी निर्बलता भूल जाता है और अन्योन्य में असमानता देखने लगता है तभी प्रवेश हो जाता है उसमें अन्यायी दर्प का, जो संगठित वर्ग का अत्यधिक नाशक और विवेचना शक्ति का ह्रासकर्ता है। अतः समष्टिवाद के समर्थक क्षेमेन्द्र धन (अर्थ) के अनुपयुक्त अनुपात के वर्गद्वय में वितरण देख अत्यन्त खिन्न होकर राष्ट्र के उस निर्धन वर्ग के प्रति धनिक समाज में संवेदना जाग्रत करने के लिये कहते हैं—

अहो नु धनहीनानां मरणं सुगतिः परा।
गतांसुः सेव्यते गृध्रैः न तु केनापि निर्धनः॥[5]

अन्यत्र

अहो दुःखं दारिद्रयं मरणाधिकम्
गृध्राः प्रयान्ति च शवं नित्यं मांसोपजीविनः
शीतलैर्दीर्घनिद्रैश्च निरुच्छ्वाससुखैः शवैः
दरिद्रस्तापनिर्निद्रः सोच्छ्वासः स्पर्धते कथम्।

अर्थात् मृतक निर्धन से सुखी है क्योंकि उसके पास मांसभक्षी गृद्ध तो एकत्रित होते हैं किन्तु जीवित दीन दुखी निर्धन के पास तो कोई आने का साहस नहीं करता। शव निश्चय ही सौभाग्यशाली है कि वह निश्चेष्ट, निरुच्छ्वास से युक्त शीतल निद्रा की गोद में तो आश्रय पा लेता है किन्तु अभागा जीवित निर्धन महाकष्ट से साँस लेता हुआ भूख और अभावों से पीड़ित शान्तिदायिनी निद्रा के भी आश्रय से वंचित रहता है।

समाज के व्याधि और आधिरूप में स्थित लोभी, कृतघ्न, वंचक, भिखारी, तान्त्रिक, पुजारी, जुआड़ी, ज्योतिषी, वाराङ्गना आदि के प्रति भी क्षेमेन्द्र उनकी बुराइयों का, उनके आकार प्रकारों का तथा उनके विभिन्न लक्षणों का निरूपण कर संसार के भोले मानवों को सतर्क सचेत करते हैं जिससे समाज के इस दूषण का नाश हो और समाज इस विकृत अंग को त्यागकर स्वस्थ पवित्र बन संसार का सामूहिक कल्याण करे। अतः वे लोभी व्यक्ति का नग्न चित्र प्रस्तुत करते हैं—

"प्राणान् हि पणमाधाय धने धावन्ति दस्यवः"[6]

अर्थात् प्राकृतिक नियम के विपरीत अत्यन्त मूल्यवान प्राणों की भी बाजी लगाकर

५. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० १८९, श्लोक ३८५।
६. बृ० क० मं०, पृ०३३२, श्लोक ५५१।

पशु से भी अधिक निर्विवेकी लोभी जन धन संग्रह के लिये तत्पर रहता है। इस प्रकार के मानव रूपधारी दस्यु से समाज सुव्यवस्थार्थ सतर्क रहे।

कृतघ्न जनों का शब्द-चित्र भी बड़ा ही मार्मिक प्रस्तुत किया है क्षेमेन्द्र ने। जैसे—

"कुतः कृतघ्नानां हृदये करुणाङ्कुराः"[७]

ऐसा कृतघ्न मानव-वर्ग संयुक्त समाज कभी भी शारीरिक, मानसिक, आध्यात्मिक अभिवृद्धि को नहीं प्राप्त कर सकता अतः इस समाज के अंग का सर्वथा निराकरण करना चाहिये। जिस समाज में सत्यपरायणता नहीं होगी उसमें स्थित वर्ग की सुरक्षा निश्चिन्तिता तथा समृद्धि दिवास्वप्नवत् असंभव होगी अतः क्षेमेन्द्र ऐसे बहुरुपियों के रूप में स्थित दूषित मनोवृत्ति वाले मनुष्यों को समाज से दूर करने का और सतर्क रहने का आदेश देते हैं। यथा :

"साधुभ्रान्त्या हि मुष्णन्ति धूर्ताः सरलवञ्चकाः
नरास्त्यक्तस्वकर्माणो मोदन्ते साधुनिन्दया"[८]

अपने-अपने कर्मों को छोड़ परछिद्रान्वेषी सज्जनों की निंदा करते हैं जिससे समाज के उस सत् वर्ग के प्रति जनता में अविश्वास क्रोध और क्षोभ उत्पन्न हो और समाज अपने ही इस अविश्वास रूप कीट से गलित हो नष्ट हो जाये। ये समाज के अपवित्र अवयव बनावटी सन्यासी, साधु, पुलिस, डाक्टर संबंधी आदि अनेक कृत्रिम रूपों को धारण कर सरल व्यक्तियों को ठगते हैं अतः इनकी स्थिति से समाज निर्बल होता जाता है, इनमें परिवर्तन, संशोधन वांछनीय है। सामाजिक सुव्यवस्था के घातक छद्म-वेषी भिखारी के प्रति कवि सतर्क करते हुए कहते हैं—

रागानलेन दग्धानां वैराग्यं जायते कुतः[९]

यथार्थ में मोहममता आदि रोगों से प्रज्वलित मन में वैराग्य और जनकल्याण की भावना उत्पन्न कैसे हो सकती है? जहाँ सब समान नहीं वहाँ संतुलन कैसे हो सकता है और बिना संतुलित स्थिति के शान्ति और समृद्धि असंभव है।

पौरुष और उद्योग के घातक आलस्य और अकर्मण्यता के पोषक भाग्यवाद को दृढ़ बनाने वाले अल्पज्ञ ज्योतिषियों का सुन्दर चित्र क्षेमेन्द्र ने प्रस्तुत कर उन वंचकों से बचने की सलाह दी है। ये अँगुलियों पर झूठ-मूठ ग्रहों की गणना करते हैं और सरल प्राणियों को डरवाकर धन एकत्रित करते हैं जैसे—

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७. बृ० क० म०, पृ० ३०४, श्लोक २१२।
८. बृ० क० म०, पृ० ११४-११७, श्लोक ३४-५६।
९. बृ० क० म०, पृ० ५२१, श्लोक १४३।

"कृतकग्रहविज्ञानात्स्वांगुलीगणनापरः"[१०]

इन लोभी और निर्दयमनवालों पर किसी को विश्वास नहीं करना चाहिये क्योंकि इनमें केवल निम्न स्वार्थ से प्रेरित अधार्मिक बुद्धि ही रहती है। इनसे समाज, राष्ट्र और संसार की कभी भलाई नहीं हो सकती।

मदिरा और जुआ से जिनका विवेक नष्ट हो गया है ऐसे समाज के कुत्सित अंग मानव का अत्यन्त मार्मिक चित्रण क्षेमेन्द्र ने किया है।

"स्वजानुसंधिविन्यस्तकपोलैर्निश्चलेक्षणैः
पराजये हाहाकारकराहतमहीतलैः
अधिक्षेपपरासक्तैः शपथाकोपकंपिभिः
वक्रानेकांगविन्यासपरैः कलकलाकुलैः
भुजंगैरिव सोच्छ्वासैः पथिकैरिव धूसरैः
उन्मत्तैरिव दिग्वस्त्रैर्व्यसनैरिव धिक्कृतैः"[११]

इन जुआड़ियों के चित्र से सामाजिक आर्थिक कुव्यवस्था, व्यवसायहीनता और अविद्या स्पष्ट प्रकट होती है। इस दुर्दशाग्रस्त मानव की इस दशा का उत्तरदायित्व असंतुलित भेद-भाव रखने वाले समृद्ध समाज पर ही है। क्षेमेन्द्र इस व्यसन से दूषित मानवों का ज्ञान चक्षु खोल जीवन के परम लक्ष्य के प्रति संकेत करते हैं।

स्त्री वर्ग में स्थित अनेकों का सौभाग्य छीनने वाली तामसी वृत्ति वाली वेश्याओं से भी राष्ट्र की महान् क्षति होती है और कामुकता पाप और असतपदार्थों की वृद्धि होती है। ये भी आर्थिक असंतुलन की फलस्वरूपिणी हैं। जैसे मकरदंष्ट्राख्या—

अनेककामुकच्छिन्ननासा श्रवणभीषणा
सदाकलहनिर्लूननिशेषकचसंचया
अतीतकामुकव्रातः केशाघातव्रणान्तिका
भयदाचिताग्निमालेव कंकालीव नराशिनी
कपालमांसरसिका राक्षसी......[१२]
"शरीरविक्रयो यासां हेतुर्द्रविणसञ्चये"[१३]

समाज के व्यावहारिक, वैज्ञानिक और आर्थिक संतुलन रखने में परम महत्त्वपूर्ण अवयव है विद्यार्थी। यदि यह बृहद् विद्यार्थी समुदाय ज्ञानार्जन करने के विपरीत भाग्य-

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१०. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० १८४, श्लोक ३२३।
११. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० २८२, श्लोक १७-२१।
१२. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० ५२, श्लोक ८३–८६।
१३. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० ४९९, श्लोक २५३।

वादी या अकमर्ण्य हो जाता है या संहारक प्रवृत्ति का बन जाता है तो निश्चय ही राष्ट्र की भावी सांसारिक और पारलौकिक समृद्धि क्षीण होती है अतः क्षेमेन्द्र पुनः इस स्वल्प बुद्धिवाले कोमल मतिवाले विद्यार्थियों को समझाते हैं कि क्या कभी देखा-सुना गया है किसी से बिना श्रम बिना तप के विद्योपर्जन। यदि नहीं, तो राष्ट्र के भावी कर्णधार विद्यार्थीगण अपनी शक्ति का गलत मार्ग पर अपव्यय न करें अपितु राष्ट्र के ज्ञान विज्ञान और कला की वृद्धि करें। वे कहते हैं—

"कथमश्रुतपांडित्यमब्रुवंस्त्वं समीहसे
इयं शशविषाणेच्छा व्योम्नि वा चित्रकल्पना
अनक्षरोऽपि विन्यासो यद्विद्याध्ययनं विना"[१४]

अर्थात् बिना शास्त्राध्ययन के पांडित्य प्राप्त करना उतना ही हास्यास्पद और असंभव है जितना खरगोश के सींगों का निकलना और आकाश में चित्ररचना की कल्पना करना। क्योंकि 'अभ्यासरहिता विद्या हास्यायतनम्'। इसी प्रकार दुर्ग्राही अविवेकी कुण्ठितबुद्धि वाले राष्ट्र की सुव्यवस्था के संहारक किंकर्त्तव्यविमूढ़ विद्यार्थियों को उद्बोधित करते हुये क्षेमेन्द्र कहते हैं—"सेतुः किं मूर्ख बध्यते...गंगायामोघहार्याभिः सिकताभिः कदाचन"[१५] अर्थात् सतत बहने वाली लहरों से युक्त गंगा के प्रवाह पर बालू से सेतु बनाने की इच्छा और प्रयत्न हास्यास्पद और असम्भव है। बाह्य और आन्तरिक उन्नति के लिये विद्यार्थी को कर्मठ, जिज्ञासु, शास्त्राध्ययन में दत्तचित्त होना चाहिये अन्यथा ज्ञान प्राप्ति बालुका के सेतु के समान निरर्थक होगी। यही बुद्धि और विवेचन शक्ति मानव को पशु से उच्चतर करती है।

समाज को दीमक की तरह कमजोर बनानेवाला अभिशाप है वृद्धविवाह और बहुसंतति। इस दूषण को दूर करना सुस्वस्थ समाज का धर्म है और भारतीय संस्कृति के अनुसार वृद्धावस्था में वानप्रस्थ आश्रम सेवन के विपरीत गृहस्थाश्रम में युवती पत्नी के साथ भोग विलास में लिप्त रहने वाले वृद्ध को बहुत ही गर्हित करते हुये क्षेमेन्द्र कहते हैं—

"चूतवल्लया इवासंगः कीटशुष्केण शाखिनः"[१६]

अन्यत्र

"उष्ट्रस्येव विलासेन गीतेनेव खरस्य
वृद्धस्य स्मरभोगेन हास्यं कस्य न जायते"[१७]

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१४. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० ४९६, श्लोक ३३९–४२।
१५. कथासरित्सागर, पृ० १८५, श्लोक १९–२१।
१६. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० २४३, श्लोक ३४०।
१७. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० ४९८, श्लोक ३६२।

जो राष्ट्र जनता का उचित भरण-पोषण न कर सके, उसे स्वस्थ न बना सके तो निश्चय उस राष्ट्र के उन्नायकों में कमी है। वे उत्पन्न कर रहे हैं ऐसे प्राणी जिनका संवर्धन करने में असमर्थ हैं अतः सुव्यवस्था के शोषक वृद्ध और बाल-विवाह निषिद्ध होने चाहिये। इसी प्रकार उचित साधन के बिना बहुसंतति माता-पिता के लिये चिन्ता और दुःख का विषय है। उसका निरोध आवश्यक है अतः कवि क्षेमेन्द्र लिखते हैं—

"रथ्याशूकरतुल्यानां पापिनां बहुलोऽन्वयः"[१८]

अन्त में समाजवादी क्षेमेन्द्र कहते हैं कि सबके साथ समान न्याय किया जाय जिससे राष्ट्र में असन्तोष, ईर्ष्या, द्वेष की अग्नि न भड़के, जिसमें जल कर राष्ट्र क्षार-क्षार न हो जावे—

"अर्थिनो समता यत्र तत्र न्यायो विवेच्यते
प्राप्तौ विवादपदवीं समौ सामान्यभूमिपौ"[१९]

अर्थात् जहाँ द्वैधीभाव के विपरीत वादी प्रतिवादी के रूप में राजा, प्रजा, धनी, रंक का भेद नहीं रहता, जहाँ न्यायबुद्धि द्वैधीभाव से प्रताड़ित नहीं की जाती वहीं न्याय होता है, वहीं प्राकृतिक मानव धर्म है और तभी सम्पूर्ण संसार में भेदभाव हटता है और विश्व शान्ति स्थापित होती है। यही मानवीय धर्म है, न्याय है।

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१८. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० १०६, श्लोक ३९।
१९. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० ४६०, श्लोक १३२।

SECTION V

PHILOLOGY

THE MEANING OF VEDIC KĀRÚ—

By J. Gonda*

Some thirty years ago the German scholar Paul Thieme,[1] basing himself upon *AV*. 20, 127, 11 *índraḥ kārúm abūbudhad ú't tiṣṭha vicarā járan / mámé́d ugrásya carkṛdhi sárva it te pṛṇād aríḥ* "Indra has woken up the proclaimer (of his praise, saying): "Rise, wander about praising; speak highly of me, the powerful one; every *ari*[2] will grant you abundant (gifts)", argued that in the Veda a *kārú-* —which in the *Petrograd Dictionary* was translated by "eulogist, poet"—must have been a wandering bard who in this stanza is enjoined to praise the god in the house of a stranger, or at least of other people. In a later publication[3] the same scholar expressed the opinion that such a wandering bard, being endowed with the divine virtue of his inspiration, must have been inviolable or rather sacrosanct and was therefore supposed to make an excellent messenger. His views were recently endorsed by Rüdiger Schmitt in a book on poetry and poetical language in (prehistoric) Indo-European times.[4] Recalling the well-known Greek word *kā'rūx* (in the Ionic and Attic dialects *kérūx*), which is usually translated by "herald", he made an attempt at demonstrating that this word and Vedic *kāru-* —which notwithstanding the *k-* extension and the long *u* in Greek have very often been considered to be etymologically identical[5]—continue an

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* Van Hogendorpstrast 13, Utrecht.

1. P. Thieme. *Der Fremdling im Ṛgveda*, Leipzig 1938, p. 75 f. See also Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, III, Stuttgart 1901, p. 75.

2. An *ari* probably is "a member of the Āryan community with whom one or one's relatives might lawfully marry" rather than "a stranger". See E. Benveniste, in a lecture on "The study of the Indo-European vocabulary," delivered before the University of London, May 1949 (see J. Brough, *The early brahmanical system of gotra and pravara*, Cambridge 1953, p. XIV).

3. Thieme, "Vorzarathustrisches bei den Zarathustriern," *in Z.D.M.G.* 107 (1957), p. 85.

4. R. Schmitt, *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indo-germanischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1967, p. 301 f.

5. For references see Schmitt, o.c., p. 301, n. 1740 and e.g. H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I, Heidelberg 1954—1960, p. 845; M. Mayrhofer, *Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*, I, Heidelberg 1956, p. 202.

original Indo-European term (*kāru-*) for the "poet". The semantic gulf between the Vedic word translated by "poet, panegyrist, reciter of eulogies" and the Greek word meaning "herald" should, he argues, be bridged over by the consideration that both functionaries essentially were wandering and that one and the same original function may have differentiated in the different cultural milieus of (prehistoric) Greece and India.

This argument gives occasion to some critical remarks. First, is it warranted to assume on the strength of a single passage that the most prominent characteristic of a Vedic *kāru-* was his ambulatory living? The large majority of the occurrences point to another semantic kernel or central meaning. A *kāru-* was to praise and extol a god or divine power in his eulogies, to honour them, rejoice them or to "be kind" to them (*ṚV.* 3, 33, 8 *ukthéṣu kāro práti no juṣasva;* see 8, 92, 19 *indrāya....stobhantu no giraḥ / arkám arcantu kārávaḥ* "our words of praise must raise themselves for Indra; the proclaimers of his praise start a eulogy"; 3, 39, 7; 8, 94, 3; 10, 75, 1) and was expected to gain a hearing (*ṚV.* 3, 33, 9 f.). He is also said to wake up the Aśvins by means of his well-spoken or well-formed words (*ṚV.* 7, 68, 9 *eṣá syá kārúr jarate sūktair ágre budhāná uṣásām sumanmā*). From the simile in *ṚV.* 2, 43, 1 it appears that the eulogist was, naturally enough, characterized by his voice: ominous birds answer like *kāravaḥ* raising their voices at the right moment. According to *ṚV.* 1, 178, 3 Indra, who is together with his heroic worshipper victorious in combat, hears the *kāru* who seeks his help, but the poet words this idea as follows. "Indra will hear the call of the poet in need (*śrótā hávaṃ nā'dhamānasya kāróḥ*).

It is true that the verb *carati* is again used at *ṚV.* 8, 92 33 but the context makes it quite clear that the acclamations of praise, not the movements or wandering of the eulogist are the centre of interest: *tvā'm id dhi tvāyávo' nunónuvataś cárān/ sákhāya indra kārávaḥ* "For thee alone thy faithful supporters will (continuously) follow with acclamations of praise, (thy) companions, O Indra, the proclaimers of (thy) praise". As is well-known the verb *carati* accompanied by a participle could express continuous action. Thus *ṚV.* 1, 83, 6 speaks of a *kāru-* who being skilled in praising raises his voice (*vádati kārúr ukthyaḥ*) in the house or in the compound of a sacrificer, but the text quite intelligibly omits any reference to his origin or journeys. That the eulogist travelled is without question: see probably *ṚV.* 1, 11, 6 stating that the poet returned, that

is, no doubt, went home, with gifts, and addressed (probably to make mention of his success and rendered an account of the recompenses received) the river (of his country), the *kārávaḥ* being witnesses, and 1, 165, 15 etc. where it is implied in the words "We would like to find a prosperous sacrificial enclosure the owners of which are inclined to give abundantly". Cf. also stanza 14. It is not surprising that these eulogists should have praised also their patrons (*ṚV*. 6, 45, 33).

A *kāru-* did not only deliver his eulogies, he also composed them: cf. *ṚV*. 1, 184, 4 requesting the Aśvins to stimulate the eulogy of the *kāru-* (*stómaṃ hinotam . . .kāróḥ*). The early morning was the point of time that was especially proper to the manifestation of "visions" and inspiration; hence the invocation of the Aśvins whose matutinal character is well-known).[6] See also 1, 148, 2 where Agni's activity is the determinant factor in the poet's receiving inspiration; 3, 6, 1; 4, 16, 3;[7] 9, 10, 6. In *ṚV*. 8, 3, 18 the *kārávaḥ* are called *viprāsaḥ*, a term which denoted a moved, inspired, ecstatic and enthusiast seer as a bearer or pronouncer of the vibrating emotional sacred words.[8] As inspired poets the *kārávaḥ* knew more than other men (compare e.g. *ṚV*. 9, 92, 5). Yet I would hesitate to translate the appellation *kāru-* by "poet".[9]

Thus the phrases *gīrbhir gṛṇánti kārávaḥ* "the proclaimers praise (extol) with eulogies (verses, invocations)" (*ṚV*. 8, 46, 3; 8, 54, 1 and *ṚVkh*. 3, 6, 1 adding *stóbhantaḥ* "shouting"), *gṛṇántaḥ kārávo girā'* (9, 29, 2) and *gṛṇatáḥ kārū'n* (5, 33, 7) —cf. also 6, 24, 2—may be supposed to indicate in as few words as possible the most essential side of the character of this Vedic figure who in the first place was a "proclaimer of praise". I would however object to Thieme's[10] translation of *ṚV*. 6, 45, 33 *tát sú no víśve aryá ā' sádā gṛṇanti kārávaḥ* "that all bards praise (for) us well (also those) in the house

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6. I refer to my book *The vision of the Vedic poets*, The Hague 1963, p. 78 ff.

7. See the note by K. F. Geldner, "Der Rig-veda übersetzt," I, Cambridge Mass. 1951, p. 339 f. (on *ṚV*. 3, 4, 7).

8. See *The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 39.

9. As is done by A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic index of names and subjects*, London 1912 (Varanasi 1958), I, p. 150 and Geldner, o.c., III, p. 22 (ṚV 9, 17, 6), etc.

10. Thieme, o.c., p. 74 f. For "bard" see further on.

of the stranger". Hence also the juxtaposition of *kāru-* and *jaritar-* in *ṚV.* 1, 165, 14: Indra, addressing the Maruts, states that the inspiration or wisdom of *Mānya* (who in stanza 15 and elsewhere is said to be a *kāru-*), has called the gods near, and expects the eulogist (*jaritar-*) to start his praise upon them. In all probability *Mānya*, the *kāru-*, and the *jaritar-* are the same person. Another relevant place is *ṚV.* 7, 68, 9, *eṣá syá kārúr jarate sūktair* reference to which has already been made. As invokers the *kārávaḥ* appear also *ṚV.* 6, 46, 1 (*VS.* 27, 37) *tvā'm* (=*Indra*) *id dhi hávāmahe sātā' vajasasya kārávaḥ* "we, *kārávaḥ*, invoke thee concerning (with a view to) the acquisition of *vāja*" and *AV.* 7, 73, 1 *vayáṃ hí vāṃ . . . aśvinā hávāmahe . . . kārávaḥ*. At *ṚV.* 7, 72, 4 they are accordingly said to offer their stanzas, charged with brahman, to the same gods, viz. the Aśvins (*prá vāṃ bráhmāṇi kārávo bharante*). See also *ṚV.* 6, 21, 1 *kārór hávyam*.

Special attention may be paid to *ṚV.* 7, 82, 4 because in this stanza a clear difference is made between the charioteers who invoke Indra and Varuṇa in the encounters on the battle-field and the *kārávaḥ* who call upon the same gods "in (during) the generation of peaceful possession of property"[11] (*yuvā'm id yutsú pṛ'tanāsu váhnayo yuvā'm kṣémaya prasavé...... / kārávaḥ......havāmahe*). Judging from this place the principal occupation of these eulogists was the invocation of the gods in time of peace, but *ṚV.* 10, 61, 23 royal patrons are described as resorting, during a military expedition or, rather, a raid, to a *kāru-* —who is said to be their dearest *vipra-* —, because the eulogist was believed to be able to help them and to bring their venture to a successful close. Geldner[12] may be right in identifying this eulogist with the royal purohita who indeed often accompanied his patron to the battle-field[13].

It is further worth noticing that the activity of the *kāru-* was an important and even indispensable element of a correct and

11. Cf. my article on "The meaning of the noun *utsava-* and its relatives" in *India antiqua*, a volume of Oriental studies presented to J. Ph. Vogel, Leyden 1947, p. 146 ff., and Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, Paris 1955—1967, VII, p. 82.

12. Geldner, o.c., III. p. 231.

13. See my article on "The purohita" in *Studia Indologica* (*Volume in honour of W. Kirfel*), Bonn 1955, p. 107 ff.

effective performance of the elaborate rites. The poet of *ṚV.* 1, 31, 8 requests Agni to make after being praised (by the *kāru-*), the latter honoured in order to enable him to gain wealth and expresses the wish that the new work[14] or production (*apas*, no doubt the *kāru-'s* eulogy) may be the means by which the sacrifice may be successful. Another interesting stanza is *ṚV.* 10, 92, 7 stating that the *kārávaḥ* have fashioned Indra's vajra in the assemblage of the men (Lords): this must mean that their activity during the sacrificial sessions has strengthened Indra and stimulated him into a display of courage and heroism. Hence also *ṚV.* 1, 53, 6 in which the same god is said to have extirpated, on behalf of the *kāru-* and of the owner of sacrificial grass, i.e. the sacrificer, ten thousand of enemies (*yát kāráve dáśa vṛtrā'ṇy..... barhiṣmate ni sahásrāṇī barháyaḥ*). For the *kāru-'s* relations to Indra see also 1, 102, 9; at 5, 33, 7 this god is implored to be his protector. The compound *kārudhāyas-* "nourishing, supporting the *kāru-*" is among Indra's epithets (*ṚV.* 6, 21, 8; 6, 24, 2 etc.). Notwithstanding the somewhat vague meaning of the noun *vṛjáneṣu*[15] at *ṚV.* 2, 2, 9 so much is clear that there also an allusion is made to the *kāru-'s* activity (and that a profitable one) in the sacrificial congregations: the *dhī-* ("poem based on inspiration") of men has become swollen among the immortal denizens of heaven so as to be a milk-yielding cow for the proclaimer in the sacrificial congregations. The poet of *ṚV.* 2, 34, 7 implores the Maruts to give such a proclaimer a reward (. . . *dāta* . . . *vṛjáneṣu kāráve sanim*). It is therefore not surprising that Agni, the god of inspiration (*ṚV.* 8, 39, 9), the first and the best *ṛṣi* (1, 31, 1; 3, 21, 3) and the great god of the sacrificial rite, is 1, 31, 9 invoked to be the *kāru-'s* "father" (the one who forms his person) and "providence" (*tanūkṛ'd bodhi prámatiś ca kāráve*).

That the functionary under discussion was employed on the sacrificial ground and that his voice was a valuable asset to a satisfactory performance of his task may be inferred also from the Āprī-hymn *ṚV.* 10, 110, (*AV.* 5, 12), st. 7: "the two divine hotars, well-voiced . . . fashioning the act of worship for man to wor-

14. I refer to my article on the significance of a new song, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 48, p. 275 ff.

15. For which see Renou, o.c. (=E.V.P.) III, p. 20, with whom I cannot completely agree.

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ship, *kārū'*, urging in (to) the sacrificial rites......"[16] If Sāyaṇa is right in supplying after "urging" (*pracodayántau*) *ṛtvijo yajamā-nāṃś ca* "the officiants and the sacrificers"[17]—for the construction see *ṚV*. 6, 75, 13; 9, 85, 2—, the *kāru-*'s appearance on the sacrificial grounds or the performance of his duties may in this context have been regarded as urging those present to execute their particular tasks. The poet of *ṚV*. 7, 2, 7 speaks with reference to the divine hotars of two inspired seers, speakers and proclaimers of praise present at man's acts of sacrificial worship (*víprā yajñéṣu mā'nuṣeṣu kārū'*).

It is doubtful whether the *kā́ru-* may on the strength of a single text, *ṚV*. 9, 112, 3, "I am a *kāru-*, my father is physician" be said to have been a professional man.[18]

There can be no doubt whatever that the etymological connection of the term under consideration with the Vedic verb *carkarti*[19] "to make mention of, to praise, speak highly of" has been rightly established and adopted by the authors of many dictionaries.[20] The meaning of this verb is indeed in perfect harmony with that of the noun: cf. e.g. *ṚV*. 4, 39, 1 *āśúṃ dadhikrā'm tám u nú ṣṭavāma diváś pṛthivyā' utá carkirāma*. "We will now praise the swift (race-horse) Dadhikrā, and we will speak highly of Heaven and Earth." Nor can any objection be taken to connecting with

16. I cannot follow W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-veda Saṃhitā*, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 241 in translating: "The (two) invokers of the gods... well-voiced... urging forward at the councils the (two) singers...".

17. Uvaṭa on *VS*. 29, 32 explains *anyān ṛtvijaḥ*, Mahīdhara *ṛtvijaḥ;* R.T.H. Griffith, *The White Yajurveda*, Benares 1927, p. 297 translates: "as singers who inspire us in assemblies...".

18. Thus Macdonnell and Keith, o.c., p. 150.

19. The nouns *kārá-* "acclamation, chant of victory" and *kārin-* "praising, rejoicing" mentioned by the *Petrograd Dictionary;* H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, 323; Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary;* Mayrhofer, o.c., I, p. 201 do not exist; see (R. Pischel and) K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I, Stuttgart 1889, p. 119 ff.; J. Wackernagel, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* 59 (1932), p. 20 ff. (=Kleine Schriften, Göttingen 1953, p. 340 ff.); Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 103 f.

20. See e.g. A. Walde-J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, I, Berlin-Leipzig 1930, p. 353; Mayrhofer, o.c., I, p. 202; 377. J. Charpentier's attempt at explaining *kārú-* as "conjurer, exorcist" and connecting it with *kṛṇoti* "in its magical sense" (*Brahman*, Uppsala 1911, p. 113, n. 1) is untenable.

these words also the noun *kīrti-* "mention, report, good report, fame, renown, glory etc."[21]

That does not however mean that the word bard, which was used not only by Thieme, but also by Renou[22] to render the Sanskrit term under discussion, is altogether felicitous. In normal English usage bard means "a Celtic tribal singer, minstrel and chronicler", but the term, although clearly of Celtic origin, has been applied also to recognized singers and reciters of other peoples. With the ancient Celts they were, according to some antique sources, distinct from the seers and the druids who specialized in a variety of intellectual, spiritual, sacerdotal, magical and prognostic activities. In Wales where the two other "learned" classes did no longer exist they developed into a close and honoured social group. In Ireland they ranked below the official court-poets who held a special place of honour as repositories of hero-sagas, national traditions, genealogies and juridical learning. However inventive a bard—in a more general sense—might be, he seems to have been regarded as a reciter or artist rather than as an author.[23] His chief concern was the maintenance of traditions, and he often claimed a divine power or the past as the source of his information. From Homer's times the often wandering and not rarely blind bard was more or less professionally employed at the courts of princes and noblemen, singing their praises and extolling their families, but his recitations were also enjoyed by the whole company present. The themes of these tales were often heroic and in time of war the bards would, in Asia and medieval Europe, accompany their patrons and inflame their soldiers against the enemy by reciting traditions of the great past. They were sometimes credited with particular, for instance

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21. The etymology proposed by Mahidhara on *VS.* 29. 32 (*kārū kurutas tau kārū*) should be rejected for semantic reasons. The choice offered, for the relationship of *kāru-*, by J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II. 2, Göttingen 1954, p. 475, between *carkarti* and the Gr. *karkairein* (which occurs only once) is either easy—namely, if the Greek verb means "to quake" (of the earth) or is an onomatopoeia—or, possibly, no real alternative—if it means "to resound" and is related to *carkarti*.

22. L. Renou, o.c., IX, p. 41 (*ṚV*. 9. 92. 5); XII, p. 55 (3. 6. 1) etc.; elsewhere he used "chanters": V, p. 61 (10. 92. 7) etc., and, for *viprāḥ…kārávaḥ* "inspired orators": VIII, p. 13 (9. 17. 6). The translation "singer" adopted by Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 241 (*AV*. 5. 12. 7) is better than "bard".

23. H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The growth of literature*, III, Cambridge 1940, p. 751.

magical. properties and associated with peculiar liberties or privileges. Religious authorities not infrequently viewed them with suspicion and hostility.[24]

It is clear that even if the Vedic *kāru-* normally made a living by passing from one patron to another and even if he praised the wealthy and powerful as often as he glorified the gods we had, notwithstanding a certain partial resemblance between his activities and those of the bard, better avoid translating the appellation conferred upon him by the Celtic term, whether we take this in its original sense or in the sense attached to it by the students of the history of literature.

Let us finally turn to the Greek noun *kérux* which, being translated by "herald, messenger", was quoted by Schmitt to persuade his readers into accepting his conclusion that there was in the original Indo-European period a term for "the poet". In Homeric times the *kérux* was an important aid of a king employed for a multiplicity of tasks such as convening meetings (*Iliad,* 2, 50 "(king) Agamemnon bade the clear-voiced heralds summon to the place of gathering the long-haired Achaeans"); maintaining order in a meeting (2, 97 "the place of gathering was in a turmoil . . .; nine heralds shouting sought to restrain them"; 18, 503 "heralds held back the folk"); acting as officials (7, 183 f.) or as masters of the ceremonies (*Od.* 8, 62 ff.); giving attendance as seconds in a duel (Il. 7, 274, one of the Trojans and one of the Greeks, "both of them men of prudence"); taking measures with regard to sacrifices (3, 116 ff.); preparing banquets and the animals to be offered as a sacrifice (18, 558). When king Priam went to the Greeks to ransom his son who had been killed he was alone, but a herald attended him, "an elder man, to guide mules and waggon and to carry back the dead body" (24, 149 ff.). The *kérux* was also employed as a messenger or ambassador (1, 320 ff.) and accompanied others, for instance persons of rank and authority, to important negotiations etc. (*Od.* 10, 59; 102). Apparently there were then already not only private heralds, but also public officials (heralds "who work for the people"; *Od.* 19, 135). They were inviolable, and carried as their badge a staff. In later Greece they retained much of their importance, assisting magistrates (making procla-

24. For many details see C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry, London* 1952, chapter XI, p. 404 ff.

mations and keeping order) in law courts and assemblies and fulfilling a variety of other public (political, military, commercial and diplomatic) functions. In the last mentioned capacity they bore messages to other states but were not entitled to *negotiate*. According to antique sources they acted as such especially in time of war. Mention is also made of "heralds" in the employ of societies or corporations.[25] The epithets applied to the Homeric *kérux* are interesting: he is "loud-voiced" and "sounds through the air", he is "a crier" and "calls through the city", but as far as I am able to see he was never an eulogist or expected to compose hymns or poems. That he was under the protection of the god Hermes and "dear to Zeus" (Il. 8, 517) was not adduced by Schmitt as a parallel to Indra's relations to the *kāru-*. From the texts themselves, the above epithets and some derivative verbs ("to proclaim, announce, summon, declare, notify, tell") and nouns ("proclamation, announcement") it appears that the use this functionary made of his voice was (or had been) his most striking characteristic.[26] So no objection can probably be made to connecting this Greek word also, with many etymologists,[27] with the Vedic *carkarti* (see above), which is also related to German words for "informing, reporting; renown, praise, fame", and a Lithuanian word for "proclaiming".[28]

Summarizing the above disquisition I would contend that the Vedic *kārú-* and the Greek *kérux*, although their appellations were etymologically related, were, it is true, both of them "spokesmen", speaking, on behalf of patrons or others, in public obviously being the most conspicuous part of their task. In detail their functions were widely different, those of the *kérux* being more like the task of the *sūta* as represented by the authors of the *brāhmaṇas*.[29]

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25. For many details see J. Oehler, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1893 ff., XI, 349 ff.

26. It may be observed in passing that the English *herald* also is apparently related, not to words for "wandering" but to words for "proclaiming, praising", viz. Old High German *harēn* "to proclaim, cry aloud" and Old English *herian* "to praise".

27. See e.g. Walde-Pokorny, o.c., I, p. 353; Hj. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I, Heidelberg 1954—1060, p. 845.

28. I refer to J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I, Bern 1948—1959, p. 530 f.

29. I refer to W. Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien*, Wiesbaden 1957, p. 108 f.

Granting that in olden times no clear distinction was made between the man who composed poems, hymns or tales and the man who delivered them, the Vedic term *kāru-* alone— for Greek *kérux* does not support Schmitt's argument—, denoting the "proclaimer of praise", cannot, in my opinion, prove the existence, in the common father-land of all Indo-Europeans, of a poet, known by the name of **kāru-*, and mainly characterized by his wanderings.

A NOTE ON THE EPIC FOLK-ETYMOLOGY OF *RĀJAN*

By Minoru Hara*

In Brāhmaṇa literature we often meet etymological explanations of words, which are mostly meaningless, viewed from the stand-point of modern scientific etymological analysis of Indo-European Comparative Philology. Most of them are more or less a kind of *Wort-spiel,* which connect a given word arbitrarily with a similar verb-root which has originally no connection with it. But this approach to the word had a ritual, rather than a linguistic significance, because the stand-point of ancient Indian ritualists is completely different from that of linguists of the present day. The word and the object which the word indicates are looked at by the ancient Indian ritualists as if constituting a unity, and thus, the analysis of a word means nothing to them but that of the object. The full understanding of the word by means of an etymological device was believed by them to lead to the full insight into the object which the word indicated. The name and its object, that is, the name-possessor, are magically and ritually connected with each other, and the ritualists were not amusing themselves, but serious in analysing the word, seeing this attempt as a way to approach the essence of the thing.[1] Viewed from their *Weltanschauung,* this serious attempt

* University of Tokyo.

1. Cf. B. Heimann, "Die Dingbeziehungen in den alten Upaniṣaden," *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 8 (Leipzig, 1931), p. 85 (Wie die Zahl, so ist auch der Name nach magischem Glauben ein Teil des Wesens, folglich fernerhin gleich dem Wesen selber....dies ist der Sinn der vielen sogenannten etymologischen Vergleichs-Spielereien).

H. Oertel, "Zum altindischen Ausdrucksverstärkungstypus satyasya satyam," (München, 1937), p. 15, note 1 (dass der Name eines Dinges sich mit dessen Wesen deckt und eine Offenbarung dieses Wesens ist...... sondern sehr ernste Versuche jener alten Denker, einen Einblick in das innerste Wesen eines Dinges zu gewinnen, allerdings auf einem Wege, der uns als ungangbar erscheint).

P. Thieme, "Brahman," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Geselschaft* 102 p. 106, note 2 (Der Name selbst ist ja nichts als eine "Formulierung." Der stellt sozusagen ihre einfachste und—eben weil elementarste—wirkungs—vollste Form dar.)

L. Renou, "Les pouvoirs de la parole dans le *Ṛgveda,*" *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes* I (Paris 1955); pp. 20-21 (Tout ce qui est nom a une substance plus ou moins mystique dans le *RV*. Mais d'abord le nom' est une sorte de matière concrète).

was scientific in itself, and thus, in this sense their attempt has been termed by H. Oldenberg as "pre-scientifically scientific" (*Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft*). When they failed to analyse the word to their satisfaction they often attributed the difficulty to gods, say-

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J. Gonda, *Four Studies in the Language of the Veda* (Hague, 1959), pp. 112-113 (A name is no mere specification, but rather an actuality expressed in a word).

Cf. also

R. Roth, *Jāska's Nirukta* (1852), p. 221.

Th. Aufrecht, *Das Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (Bonn, 1879), p. 432 (ad. 1, 2, 3).

S. Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice* (Paris, 1898), p. 38, note 6.

M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur* I (Leipzig, 1907), p. 177.

B. Liebich, *Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft* II (Leipzig, 1919), pp. 6-7.

H. Oldenberg, *Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-texte*, Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft (Göttingen, 1919), p. 79.

For the magical belief in the name, cf. also,

J. Gonda, "A propos d' un sens magico-religieuz de skt. *guru*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12 (London, 1947), p. 127.

W. Ruben, "Schamanismus im alten Indien," *Acta Orientalis* 18, p. 187.

M. Scheller, *Vedisch priyá- und die Wortsippe frei, freién, Freund* (Göttingen, 1958), pp. 74 ff.

For the belief of word as power in oath and curse, cf. also,

H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* I, *Varuṇa und die Wasser* (Göttingen 1951), p. 18.

P. Thieme, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 ff.

J. Gonda, *Ancient Indian* ojas *and Latin* *augos, *and the Indo-European Nouns in* -es/os- (Utrecht, 1952), p. 26.

Other remarks on ancient Indian speculation of the word, cf.

P. C. Chakravarti, *The Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar* (Calcutta 1930); The *Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus* (Calcutta 1933).

O. Strauss, "Altindische Spekulationen über die Sprache und ihre Probleme," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 81, pp. 99—151.

V. M. Apte, "The Spoken Word," *Deccan Collegee Post-graduate Research Bulletin*, 4, pp. 275 ff.

D. Stede, "The Role of Alaṁkāra in Indian Philosophy," *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume* (Calcutta 1940), pp. 131-140.

The problem of the relationship between a word and its object (*Śabdārtha-saṁbandha*) is fully discussed by medaeval Indian philosophers and grammarians. Here I only quote the opening stanza of Kalidasa's *Raghuvaṁśa* :

vāg-arthāv iva saṃpṛktau vāg-artha-pratipattaye
jagataḥ pitarau vande pārvatī-parameśvarau

ing that the gods were fond of subtlety *(parokṣa-kāma,* i.e., *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 6. 1. 1. 2).[2]

In these etymological explanations the commonest form is to put the word to be analysed in the genitive case and to construe it with its abstract form, in a manner "this is *that-ness* of *that*," i.e., "this is the reason why *that* is called *that.*" We shall quote a few examples from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*

yajño vai devebhya udakrāmat tam iṣṭibhiḥ praiṣam aichan
yad iṣṭbhiḥ praiṣam aichaṃs tad iṣṭīnām iṣṭivam (1. 2. 1)
etābhir vai devān yajamāno hvayati, tad āhutīnām āhutitvam (1.2.4)
yad vāva sa tatra yathābhājanaṃ devatā amum āvahāmum āvahety āvāhayati, tad eva hotur hotṛtvam (1.2.7)

In the Epic age this tradition still perseveres and we find a number of etymological analyses of personal names and place-names. Often, they are accompanied by legendary stories which recount the origin of those names and the history of how they became so named. Some of them are mythological, as in the case of *Apsaras* and the god's name *Marut,*[3] some are historical as in the case

2. Cf. M. Winternitz, *loc. cit.*

O. Strauss, *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

3. *Apsaras* :

atha dhanvantarir nāma apsarāś ca suvarcasaḥ
apsu nirmathanād eva rasāt tasmād vara-striyaḥ
utpetur manuja-śreṣṭha tasmād apsaraso 'bhavan (*R.* 1. 44. 18)

Marut :

tasyāḥ śarīra-vivaraṃ viveśa ca puraṃdaraḥ
garbhaṃ ca saptadhā rāma bibheda paramātmavān (17)
bhidyamānas tato garbho vajreṇa śata-parvaṇā
ruroda susvaraṃ rāma tato ditir abudhyata (18)
mā rudo mā rudaś ceti garbhaṃ śakro 'bhyabhāṣata
bibheda ca mahātejā rudantam api vāsavaḥ (*R.* 1. 45. 19)
vāta-skandhā ime sapta carantu divi putrakāḥ
mārutā iti vikhyātā divya-rūpā mamātmajāḥ (R. 1. 46. 4)

As for *Hanumat*, cf. *R.* 4. 65. 22 and 7. 36. 11 and for *Kārttikeya* R. 1. 36. 25. *Skanda*, R. 1. 36. 27. For the story of *Marut*, cf. also *Harivaṁśa* (ed. by S. N. Joshi, Chitrashala Press, Poona 1936) 1. 3. 34-35.

of the King *Sagara*,[4] some are philosophical, like that of *puruṣa*,[5] some are poetical, like those of *anaṅga*[6] and *śloka*.[7] In these explanations we observe that the ritual and magical flavour faded, as is seen in the Brāhmaṇa literature, and there appeared, instead, more optimistic and mythological accounts of origins of names. Though the commonest construction of the Brāhmanical etymology, as mentioned above, is still used in the Epics occasionally, most of these explanations replaced the abstract construction by a more simple and natural construction. We further observe that even the Brāhmaṇa construction with an abstract form seems to have changed its signification. The following examples may serve to make the points clear.

> *māṃ sa bhakṣayate yasmād bhakṣayiṣye tam apyaham*
> *etan* māṃsasya māṃsatvam *ato budhyasva bhārata* (*MBh.* 13.117.34)

"This will eat me (in the next world), so I will eat it (now).

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4. *sapatnyā tu garas tasyai datto garbha-jighāṃsayā*
gareṇa saha tenaiva jātaḥ sa sagaro 'bhavat (*R.* 2. 102. 18)

As for *Kalmāṣapāda*, cf. *R.* 7. 65. 32-33 and *Janaka*, *R.* 7. 57. 19.

5. *puraṃ viṣahate yasmāt tasmāt puruṣa ucyate*
tam āhur vyarthanāmānaṃ strīvad ya iha jīvati (*MBh.* 5. 131. 33)
nava-dvāraṃ puraṃ puṇyam etair bhāvaiḥ samanvitam
vyāpya śete mahān ātmā tasmāt puruṣa ucyate (*MBh.* 12. 203. 35)

For the last passage, cf. also *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā* 10. 8. 43.

As for *indriya*, cf. *MBh.* 12. 207. 23, *putra* 14. 93. 37 and 45.

6. *tasya gātraṃ hataṃ tatra nirdagdhasya mahātmanā*
aśarīraḥ kṛtaḥ kāmaḥ krodhād deveśvareṇa ha (13)
anaṅga iti vikhyātas tadā prabhṛti rāghava
sa cāṅga-viṣayaḥ śrīmān yatrāṅga sa mumoca (*R.* 1. 22. 14)

For the original meanings of *anaṅga* (*añj-*) and *manmatha* (*math-*), cf. S. Konow, "Anaṅga, the Bodyless Cupid," *Festchrift J. Wackernagel* (Göttingen 1923), pp. 1—8.

7. *samākṣaraiś caturbhir yaḥ pādair gīto maharṣiṇā*
so 'nuvyāharaṇād bhūyaḥ śokaḥ ślokatvam āgataḥ (*R.* 1. 2. 39)

For this origin of the *śloka* metre, cf. also P. V. Kane, *History of Sanskrit Poetics* (Bombay, 1951), p. 320.

As for the names of the Epic singers *Kuśa* and *Lava*, cf. *R.* 7. 66. 7-8.

yas tayoḥ pūrvajo jātaḥ sa kuśair mantra-satkṛtaiḥ
nirmārjanīyas tu tadā kuśa ity asya nāma tat (7)
yaś cāvaro bhavet tābhyāṃ lavena susamāhitaḥ
nirmārjanīyo vṛddhābhir laveti ca sa nāmataḥ (8)

That is the meat-ness of meat (me-eat). Be mindful of it."

adya paśyantu rāmasya rāmatvaṃ mama saṃyuge
trayo lakāḥ sagandharvāḥ siddha-gandharva-cāraṇāḥ (*R.* 6. 100, 55).

"Today, look everybody in the three worlds the Rāma-ness of me, Rāma, in the battle-field."

In the first example which explains the meat-ness of meat, the construction and meaning is just the same as is seen in the Brāhmaṇa etymology. But in the second example, although the construction is just the same, it is used not for an etymological explanation, but for the statement of an oath. In this Rama swears to his braveness in the battle-field, using this construction. It serves here to emphasize his own prowess, although we are not quite sure of whether or not there still remains a ritual significance in this kind of a statement of an oath.

At any rate, it should be here noted that though the Indo-European etymological study reveals to us the historical back-ground of the word most scientifically, the folk-etymological explanations found in Sanskrit literature sometimes enable us to discern what sort of concrete ideas the ancient Indian had about the given concepts, the names of which they attempted to analyse by their etymological devices.

To prepare an exhaustive list of those folk-etymological explanations found in the two Epics requires vast time and space, and thus, here we limit our attention only to the word *rājan* (king),[9] and we shall see what sort of idea those epic singers cherished about a king, using passages of the last portions of the *Mahābhārata* (12—18) and the whole *Rāmāyaṇa*[10] as our basic material.

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8. Cf. *Manusmṛti* 5. 55.

māṃ sa bhakṣayitāmutra yasya māṃsam ihādmy aham
etan māṃsasya māṃsatvaṃ pravadanti manīṣiṇaḥ

Cf. also H. P. Schmidt, "The Origin of Ahiṃsā," *Mélanges d' Indianisme á la Mémoire de L. Renou* (Paris 1968), p. 629.

9. For the scientific etymology of the word, cf. M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* II (Heidelberg, 1964, pp. 50-51.

10. References to those Epics are as follows: *Mahābhārata* (the Poona Critical edition), *Rāmāyāṇa* I—5 (the Baroda Critical Edition), 6-7 (Bombay Vulgate Edition, Nirnayasagara-Press, 1909).

II

We meet in the *Mahābhārata* twice the passage which derives the word *rājan* from the root *rañj*— (make red, dye)

pṛthuṃ vainyaṃ prajā dṛṣṭvā raktāḥ smeti yad abruvan
tato rājeti nāmāsya anurāgād ajāyata (*MBh.* 12.29.131)

"On seeing Pṛthu, the son of Veṇa, people said that they felt attached (*rakta*) to him. Thus, the name "king" (*rājan*) came to existence from their attachment (*anurāga*) to him."

tena dharmottaraś cāyaṃ kṛto loko mahātmanā
rañjitāś ca prajāḥ sarvās tena rājeti śabdyate (*MBh.* 12.59 127)[11]

"By him, who was great, the world was made lawful, and people became delighted (lit. were made attached, *rañjita*). Thus, he was called a king (*rājan*)."

Another passage derives it from the root *rāj*- (shine).

yasmin dharmo virājeta taṃ rājānaṃ pracakṣate
yasmin vilīyate dharmas taṃ devā vṛṣalaṃ viduḥ (*MBh.* 12. 91.12)[12]

"The gods call him a king in whom righteousness shines. They call him a slave in whom righteousness perishes."

Of these two derivations, the former (*rañj*-) seems to be predominant. To prove this, we have a number of passages in which the

11. Cf. E. W. Hopkins, "The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 13, p. 136; J. Gonda, *Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View* (Leiden, 1966) p. 13, notes 99-100 and p. 129; K. V. R. Aiyangar, "The Evolution of Ancient Indian Polities", *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume* I (Patna 1926–1928), p. 178.

Cf. also *Harivaṁśa* I. 5. 30,

pitrāparañjitās tasya prajās tenānurañjitāḥ
anurāgāt tatas tasya nāma rājety ajāyata

12. It is the etymology of the word which is given in the *Nirukta* of Yāska (*rājā rājateḥ*, Nirukta II. 3).

Epic singers appear to have been conscious of this derivation from *rañj-*, while they describe a king or prescribe duties for the king.

tasmān nityaṃ dayā kāryā cāturvarṇye vipaścitā
na tasya bhraśyate rājyaṃ guṇa-dharmānupālanāt (*MBh.* 12. 56.36)

"Therefore, a wise man should be constantly compassionate to people of the four castes. The righteous and honest king gratifies (lit. makes attached) his subjects."

aviruddhām tri-vargeṇa nītim etām yudhiṣṭhira
abhyuttiṣṭha śrutād asmād bhūyas tvaṃ rañjayan prajāḥ (*MBh.* 12.136.207)

"While gratifying people, establish again this policy which is not contradictory to the three ideals of human beings."

yas tu rañjayate rājā paura-jānapadān guṇaiḥ
na tasya bhraśyate rājyaṃ guṇa-dharmānupālanāt (*MBh.* 12. 137.103)

"The kingdom, whose king gratifies by virtue people both urban and in the country, does not fall from the fact of preserving virtue and righteousness."[13]

The root *rañj-* is often prefixed by the prefix *anu-*,

khanīnetras tu vikrānto jitvā rājyaṃ akaṇṭakam
nāśaknod rakṣituṃ rājyaṃ nānvarajyanta taṃ prajāḥ (*MBh.* 14.4.8)

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13. Cf. also,

bālān api ca garbhasthān sāntvāni samudācaran
rañjayan prakṛtīḥ sarvāḥ paripāhi vasuṃdharām (*MBh.* 12. 34. 32)

abhiṣikto hi yo rājā rājyastho mitra-saṃvṛtaḥ
asuhṛt-samupeto vā sa kathaṃ rañjayet prajāḥ (12. 116. 5)

yaḥ pramāṇam atikramya pratilomaṃ narādhipaḥ
bhṛtyān sthāpayate 'buddhir na sa rañjayate prajāḥ (12. 119. 7)

rañjayasva prajāḥ sarvāḥ prakṛtīḥ parisāntvaya
suhṛdaḥ phala-satkārair abhyarcaya yathārhataḥ (13. 152. 8)

dharmeṇa rañjayāmāsa dharma-rāja iva prajāḥ
sa lebhe karmaṇā tena parameṇa mahādyutiḥ (*Harivaṁśa* 1. 9. 58)

Cf. also *Kathāsaritsāgara* 51. 19.

tataḥ sa yauva-rājyastho dharmaika-paro vaśī
arañjayad dharma-śīlaḥ pitur abhyadhikaṃ prajāḥ

"Although the powerful Khanīnetra conquered the kingdom completely he was unable to hold the kingdom, and people felt no attachment to him."

brahmaṇyaḥ satya-vādī ca śuciḥ śama-damānvitaḥ
prajās taṃ cānvarajyanta dharma-nityaṃ manasvinam (*MBh.* 14.4.11)

"People felt attached to him who was pious, honest, innocent, self-controlled, self-restrained, intelligent and fond of righteousness."

The nominal form *rañjana* also appears in close context with *rājan*,

ādāv eva kuruśreṣṭhā rājñā rañjana-kāmyayā
devatānāṃ dvijānāṃ ca vartitavyaṃ yathā-vidhi (*MBh.* 12.56.12)

"In the first place, a king should behave himself to the gods and to Brahmins with the intention to gratify them."

loka-rañjanam evātra rājñāṃ dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ
satyasya rakṣaṇaṃ caiva vyavahārasya cārjavam (*MBh.* 12.57.11).

"To gratify people is the eternal law prescribed for kings. So also is to defend truthfulness and to be upright in worldly business."

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we have recorded no passage which gives an etymological definition of the word *rājan*, but seven instances are apparently conscious of its derivation from the root *rañj-*. Below, we shall list those passages according to the nature of their construction.

avekṣamāṇaś cāreṇa prajā dharmeṇa rañjayan
nādhyagacchad viśiṣṭaṃ vā tulyaṃ vā śatrum ātmnaḥ (*R.* 1.7.16).

"Inspecting (other's territory) by dispatching spies, and gratifying people by righteousness, he found an enemy who was neither superior, nor equal to himself."

kac cit te kuśalaṃ rājan kac cid dharmeṇa rañjayan
prajāḥ pālayase rājan rāja-vṛttena dhārmika (*R.* 1.51.7)

"I hope, you are well, and you protect as a king your people, gratifying them by righteousness, oh, righteous king."

The construction with the prefix *anu-* is also found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,

tvayā yataḥ prajāś cemāḥ svaguṇair anurañjitāḥ
tasmāt tvaṃ puṣya-yogena yauva-rājyaṃ avāpnuhi (*R.* 2. 3. 24)

"Those people are fond of you because of your own virtues. Thus, you should be consecrated at the auspicious moment when the moon stands in connection with *Puṣya*."

ayodhyāṃ gaccha bhārata prakṛtīr anurañjaya
śatrughna-sahito vīra saha sarvair dvijātibhiḥ (*R.* 2. 99. 15)

"Go to the city of Ayodhya, accompanied with Śatrughna and all these Brahmins, and gratify your subjects."

ṛkṣa-vānara-rakṣāṃsi sthitā rāmasya śāsane
anurañjanti rājāno hy ahany ahani rāghavam (*R.* 7. 99. 11)

"Bear, monkeys, and Rakṣas remain under the command of Rāma. Princes feel attachment to Rāma as time goes on."

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we have also a kind of cognate and pleonastic construction (*raktān rañjaya-*).

rakṣituṃ sumahad rājyaṃ aham ekas tu notsahe
paura-jānapadāṃś cāpi raktān rañjayituṃ tathā (*R.* 2. 104. 11)

"I am unable to protect this vast kingdom by myself alone. Nor am I able to gratify people to their gratification, people both urban and in the country."

Beside people (*prajā*), subjects (*prakṛti*) and people, both urban and in the country (*paura-jānapada*), we find an army (*bala*) which stands in the accusative case construed with the verb *rañj-*.

balaṃ ca subhṛtaṃ vīra hṛṣṭa-tuṣṭam anuddhatam
saṃbhāṣā-saṃpradānena rañjayasva narottama (*R.* 7. 64. 5)

"Keep the army well-guarded, cheered and contented, and modest. Make them feel attached to you by means of good communications and gifts."

A verbal from *rañjanīya* is used in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in construction with *śatru* (enemy to be subjugated) :

śatroḥ prakhyāta-vīryasya rañjanīyasya vikramaiḥ
paśyato yuddha-lubdho' haṃ kṛtaḥ kāpuruṣas tvayā (R. 6. 104. 6)

"In full view of the foe famed for his prowess, who is to be won by my exploits, you have transformed me who delights in battle into a coward."

III

From the above passages it becomes clear that the word *rājan-* (king) is derived by the Epic singers from the root *rañj-*. Although there is one exceptional instance which derives it from the root *rāj-* (shine), the majority of the Epic passages apparently pre-supposed the derivation of the word from the root *rañj-*.

Now, the meaning of the root *rañj-* (*rajyati, -te*) is "to become red, coloured, tinged, dyed," and its causative from (*rañjaya*) means "to make red, dye, paint."[14] The central meaning is further extended along an emotional line[15] to mean "being emotionally tinged." "being emotionally inclined," and thus its nominal derivative *rāga* comes to mean "loving passion," "attachment." Admittedly this root *rañj-* has originally nothing to do with the word *rājan-*, viewed from the stand-point of the Indo-European Comparative Philo'ogy, but this Epic derivation arouses our interest. This derivation, though it is arbitrary, indicates that people become emotionally tinged to their king, and thus they become likened to him. The king, on his part, is supposed to make people inclined to and become attached to himself. It seems to be a king's duty to make people like him and to make them feel dependent upon him, otherwise he may fail to hold the kingdom as is seen in the case of the powerful Khanīnetra. This connotation of dying other's mind seems to have extended to a kind of a bribery. A king was able to make his enemy tinged emotionally to him (*rañjanīya*) and thus to subjugate the

14. Cf. M. Mayrhofer, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

15. Cf. *lagna* (sticked), *s-raj*, **s-laj* (garland), < *lagati* (sticks), *lajyate* (is ashamed < becomes red), *lajjā* (shame).

enemy. In order to make people attached to him there exist various means, such as gifts (*sampradāna*), personal communications (*saṁbhāṣā*), and others, but among them virtue (*guṇa*) and righteousness (*dharma*) seem to be the most important. The king must endeavour to be charming to his subjects and to win their hearts, not only by material or physical devices, but rather by personal, ethical qualities *par excellence*.

In collecting these Epic passages a passing note is to be mentioned. That is, in comparing the passages of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* none of them are exactly the same. Although the singer of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was conscious of the etymological derivation as is given in the *Mahābhārata*, he seems to have sung the Epic independently from the oral Epic tradition of the so-called Pseudo-Epic portion of the *Mahābhārata* (12-13). This is verified at least viewed from this tiny channel of our investigation of the etymological analysis of the word *rājan*.

Further, it might be just a coincidence that the objects of the root *rañj-* often appear in the feminine gender (*prajā, prakṛti*). This is interesting, because its nominal derivative *rāga* often connotes the love between man and woman. But we must admit that it does not hold good in the case of *paura-jānapada* (m.), and *bala* (n.).*

* I would like to express my deepest thanks to Professor William Everett of Sophia University, who kindly took the trouble to read my original manuscript and to correct my English.

ŚIPRIN AND ŚIPIVIṢṬA

By Dr. Sadashiv Ambadas Dange*

The words *śiprā* and *śipiviṣṭa* have been considered to be of uncertain connotation by scholars. *Śiprā* has been rendered variously as nose, teeth, cheeks, nostrils, lips, chin and even the helmet. It rather appears to be queer that the word would have such varied connotations, though in different contexts. Some of these meanings are accepted by the traditional commentators like Veṅkaṭamādhava, Sāyaṇa, and Skandasvāmin. The Western scholars including Ludwig, Geldner, Grassmann, Griffith, Macdonell, Keith and others have followed the traditional interpretation; and yet a doubt regarding the exact implication of the word persisted. The suggestion of Frisk, that *śiprā* indicates a waggin-tail, helmet,[1] is also not satisfactory; for, it does not satisfy all references to this word in the *Ṛgveda*. A fresh investigation is, hence, necessary taking into account all such references.

About the word *śipiviṣṭa* also the same difficulty persists. The word has been taken to indicate a sober as well as a vulgar sense. Hence it is necessary to examine it afresh.

We shall start with *śiprā,* taking the following passage[2]:

ā te hanū harivaḥ śūra śipre
ruhat soma na parvatasya pṛṣṭhe.

It will be seen that the passage has both *hanū* and *śipre* in one; and naturally *śipre* (dual of *śiprā*) cannot mean the *hanū* (i.e. chin). The idea in the passage is of the rise of Soma, and is accepted by all scholars, eastern and western. It is, however, believed that Soma is to rise to both the *śipre* and the *hanū*. Geldner renders the passage as follows:[3]

* Palsole's Bungalow, Near Ramkrishna Ashram, Dhantoli, Nagpur.

1. *La Monde Oriental,* XXX, p. 78 ff.
2. *Ṛgveda,* V. 36. 2.
3. *Der Ṛigveda,* II, p. 36.

"Deine Backen, O trapferer Falbenherr, deine geöffneten Lippen soll der Soma (trank) besteigen, wie die Soma (planze) den Rückendes Berges".

Now the question is, how can we imagine the word *śipre* to mean *"geöffneten Lippen"*? The verse has no word for warranting this rendering. And, even if we are to suppose *śipre* to indicate the *Lippen (lips), how to account for "geöffneten"* (Open)? Even granting that the word conveys the meaning of "opened up lips", it is difficult to imagine the soma-drink (cf. trank) rising to the lips "as the soma-plant (*planz*) rises on the mountain." The position of the soma-plant is at a height and erect, while such can never be the position of the soma-drink. Further, this rendering requires Soma to be taken twice–once in the upameya sentence; and again in the upamāna sentence. In short, Soma is compared with Soma itself, but in two different positions.

Geldner takes the word *hanū* here to mean "Backen", i.e. cheeks. It is highly doubtful if *hanū* ever means the cheeks; and even if we accept Geldner's rendering of the word as "cheeks", here, it is difficult to see the logic in saying that the drink (Soma) rises to the cheeks. Moreover, it is doubtful, if by "cheeks" we could take the inner side, where there will be the actual contact of the drink. And the utmost surprising thing with this rendering is, that we have to understand Soma (drink) reaching the "Backen" (cheeks) first, and then the *"geöffneten Lippen."* This rendering, hence, cannot be accepted.

The rendering of Griffith is similar to that of Geldner and requires no comment. Ludwig renders *hanū* as *"kiefer"* and *śipre* as "backen." Otherwise there is no change. Sāyaṇa, obviously, is in difficulty with both *hanū* and *śipre* being side by side; for he often renders the word *śipre* as *hanū* or the *nāsike* (nose-openings) following Yāska. He seeks to surmount this difficulty by rendering *hanū* as *hanana-sādhane"* (instrumental in cutting or killing), and commenting that though the word *hanū* is itself indicative of *śiprā,* it is subordinate as the word *śiprā* is uttered again, expressly (*yady 'apy 'ayam śiprā-vaccanaḥ tathāpi punaḥ śiprā 'bhidhānād gauṇo 'yam vaktavyaḥ*). He, thus, takes *hanū* as an epithet of *śipre,* suggesting that the latter is something like an instrument. But they cannot be exactly the jaws, which is difficult to understand as *hanana-sādhana* in the case of a human being (or a god, if he is anthropomorphic

like Indra)! Let us examine the word *hanū*. The word *hanū* (in the dual) occurs only thrice more;[4] and it has the meaning of "shattering" though it indicates the jaws. Once it occurs in the plural[5] with Agni and indicates its destroying flames. Sāyaṇa wavers, however, as regards the *na* in "*somo na parvatasya pṛṣṭhe*", taking it as a negative particle rendering that Soma rises on to the *hanū śipre* (shattering jaws) and *not* on the top of the mountain (*na ruhat na ārohati tatra na tiṣṭhati ity 'arthaḥ*), and also remarks that the particle *na* may indicate a simile, though it is placed before *parvatasya*, which he believes to be the *upamāna*. Sāyaṇa is, hence, not clear in his mind about his rendering; and his effort appears to be at random. The fact is, as has been rightly followed by all other scholars, that the *upamāna* is Soma; not *parvata*. So Sāyaṇa's hesitating alternative, "*parvatasya na pṛṣṭhe*" is out of question, though his suggestion that *hanū* is the epithet of *śipre* is perfectly admissible.

The main difficulty about the interpretations noted above is, how could the Soma-drink be imagined to rise to the lips or even the shattering jaws, in the way as the plant stands or sprouts on the mountain? We are in the bounds of legitimacy in expecting *śipre*, which are *hanū themselves* (i.e. shattering or pointed), to be erect like the plant taking its rise on the mountain. This precludes the possibility of the *śipre* being either nose, nostrils, moustaches, jaws, lips etc. In other words, both *hanū* and *śipre* are to be taken as the nominative forms and *not* the accusative. To be clearer, these words are the subject, being on par with Soma. Both Soma and *śipre* (having *hanū* as the epithet) are connected with the verb *ruhat*. Though the expected form of the verb in the case of *śipre* is *ruhataḥ*, the form *ruhat* is due to the influence of Soma which follows.

We take another expression—"*vi ṣyasva śipre vi sṛjasva dhene*."[6] Here Sāyaṇa renders the word *śipre* as the "jaws" (*hanū*), and *dhene* as "*jihvopajihve*" (tongue and lower tongue). Geldner takes *śipre*, in this context, to mean "set of teeth" (gebiz), and *dhene* as "lips". Now the expression *vi ṣyasva* occurs only in one more verse in the *Ṛgveda* which occurs twice,[7] being a common portion of the Āprī

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4. ṚV. IV. 18. 9; X. 79. 3 and - 152. 3.

5. VIII. 60. 13 *hanavaḥ*.

6. I. 101. 10.

7. III. 4. 9.=VII. 2. 9.

hymns of Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha. The expression conveys the meaning of "letting loose" or "releasing". Now it is difficult to understand the set of teeth or even the jaws being let loose for drinking! Normally even, they are not set together. If, on the other hand, we take the word *śipre* to indicate the lips, they may well be described as "loosening" for drinking; for, they are normally set together. But, in that case, what about the word *"dhene"*? Again, even if we take the word *dhene* to indicate the *jihvopajihve* (with *Sāyaṇa*) which are said to be "a means for drinking" (*dhene* from $\sqrt{dhe}$, to drink; Sāyaṇa—*pāna-sādhana-bhūte*), can the tongue and the lower tongue, or even the jaws, be really taken in the sense of the *sādhana* for *drinking*? It is, thus, clear that the hitherto accepted (but not doubtlessly; for, there are other alternatives as nose etc.!) rendering of *śipre* as the jaws and the lips is unhappy. This does not suit the other words viz. *dhene* and *hanū* used with it, nor does it satisfactorily explain the comparison with the rising Soma-plant.

Let us have the next expression[8] about *śipre*:

sruveva yasya hariṇī vipetatuḥ
śipre vājāya hariṇī davidhvataḥ

(whose golden *śipre* move for the drink of strength, as hasten the golden ladles).

The idea of the *śipre* that we get here is that of the containers like ladles. This expression ill suits the jaws which are fixed and, with a human (or a god conceived of as a human being) it is clearly ludicrous. If the *śipre* are as long as the ladles, one wonders if Indra could ever be called *su-śipra*, which is his favourite epithet. The description compares the *śipre* with the ladles pouring the offerings into the sacrificial fire. The *śipre* do not appear to be a part of the mouth; on the contrary, the picture that this reference produces before the eyes is, that they are an instrument for drinking Soma (cf. *dhene*, but not *jihvopajihve*!), and pour Soma into the mouth of Indra, who is voraciously fond of the drink, as the ladles pour offerings in the fire. Geldner's rendering of the word, here, as nos-

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8. X. 96. 9.

trils falls out of the arena like others which connect *śipre* with this or that part of the mouth or face.

Putting together all the points that we have noted about *śipre* we arrive at the following:

(i) The word *śiprā* or *śipre* indicates a container for the purpose of drinking from (*dhene*);

(ii) The container is such as it could kill, may be, by piercing (*hanū*);

(iii) It could be taken up, and could be placed to resemble the shoot of the Soma-plant.

(iv) It could be fixed and loosened (*vi-ṣyasva, vi-sṛjasva*).

From the points we have deduced it appears that *śiprā* (or *śipre*) was a *horn-like erection on the helmet.* We have already seen that scholars have suggested "helmet" as an alternative rendering of the word but, it does not suit well with the drinking. The *Ṛgveda* attests to the fact that the *śiprā*-s were worn on the head.[9] The *śiprā*-s appear to be fixed on the head-wear to be taken down, being released, for the purpose of drinking. This goes well with the expression *"vi-ṣyasva śipre vi-sṛjasva dhene."* When Indra is invoked to drink Soma, with the expression *"papṛthyā śipre,"*[10] it indicates the forward extension of the horn-like container to get it filled with the drink, and not "filling the jaws or lips with the liquid", which is itself obscure.

Before we come to the etymology of the word *śiprā*, and compare it with other words, we may note that drinking from the horn was a widely current practice; and horns were worn on the head-wear or the helmet. Both these practices were current with the belief that the horn symbolized virility. Among others, we may note that silver-horns were worn by married men among the Druses; and in China horn-cups, called *hsi chuen* were symbolic of happiness.[11]

9. Cf. V. 54. 11, where the Maruts are said to have them.

10. III. 32. 1.

11. Gertrude Jobes, *Dictionary of Mythology, Folk-lore, and Symbols*, New York, 1962; see also James Hastings, *Encycl. Religion and Ethics* Vol. VI, p. 792. It is clear that the practice of wearing horns or something resembling horns continued. At the Bhairavakonda temple near Udayagiri, the door-keepers show horned head-wear (O.C. Ganguli and A. Goswami, *Art of the Pallavas*, Rupa & Co. 1957, p. 13). A figurine at the excavated Ter shows her braid in horn-shape (I am obliged to Dr. Deo, Head of the Department, Nagpur University for this information and for the figurine which he showed to me).

In the Vedic tradition important deities wear horns and the horned head-dress forms a part of the bride-groom's attire at the marriage,[12] even to-day in certain castes.

With this in mind, let us examine other instances of *śiprā*. When Indra is invoked as *Śiprin*, it does not add anything special to his personality if it simply means "having a chin or a moustache, or a set of teeth, or a jaw, or even a helmet." Even when Vṛtra is said to be *viśi-śipra*,[13] the probability is of the meaning being, "high among his hoard"; and *vṛṣa-śipra*, probably, indicates *śiprā* being of the bull as against the gold-siprā of the Vedic gods. It also has to be noted that all the Vedic gods are not endowed with the *śiprā*. It is prominent with Indra. The Maruts come next. Once *ayaḥ-śipra* comes for Mitrā-Varuṇā; twice it comes with the Ṛbhus (*ayaḥ-śipra* and *su-śipra*); and it is associated with Agni in a few cases.

An interesting passage about Indra is, *"vanoti śiprābhyām śipriṇīvān."*[14] Sāyaṇa renders it as to mean that Indra requests by his jaws (*hanūbhyām*)! Geldner follows him, only changing it to, *"mit geöffneten Lippen"* (with open lips). The point is quite blunt even if the rendering is intended to convey frankness on the part of Indra. Sāyaṇa, already, feels it to be unhappy; and suggests an alternative (according to the variant to the commentary), for *vanoti* as, *"śatrūn abhibhavati"* (defeats the enemies), without commenting on the word *śiprābhyām*. Does he mean to indicate that Indra vanquishes the enemies by his jaws? Though this picturesque idea brings to our mind the exploit of the Biblical Samson, who vanquished the enemies with the jaw-bone of an ass, the rendering has rarely any propriety here. Griffith is, however, impressed by the ingenuity of the commentator, and adds flight to it by stating that "with jaws" means "with a roar or the thunder."[15] Ludwig renders the passage as, *"er kamft (für seine) mit seinen beiden Keifern,"* thus sticking to the jaw-fighting. The exact idea, however, appears to be that Indra asks for Soma with two long horn-cups. The word *śipriṇī-vān* has to be noted, though Sāyaṇa simply renders it as *śipra-vān*. Ludwig, Geldner and Griffith do not come out of the lip-jaw-image; and

12. It is called *bā-shing* (*dvi-śṛṅga*).

13. V. 45. 6.

14. Only at X. 105. 5.

15. Tr. of the *ṚV*.

Geldner thinks of the *"nüstern"* (nostrils) here. The word *sipriṇī-vān* indicates mastery over the *śipriṇī*. Now the word *śipriṇī* comes once more in the *Ṛgveda* where we read *"asmākam śipriṇīnām,"*[16] and the *śipriṇī*-s, probably, indicate the cows as Sāyaṇa suggests. The meaning will be "those having *siprā,*" (but not "having jaws" !). The word has association, in all probability, with the horns which is a speciality of the cows and cattle. The epithet *śipriṇīvān* is unique with Indra, and may be compared with another of his unique epithet, *go-pati*. Indra is *śiprin* and is the lord of the *śipriṇī*-s. If the *śiprā* is made of gold or any other metal, and is yet horn-like, we may not be far from the truth if we see in the *śiprin* or *su-śipra* a custom of wearing the golden or metal replicas of horns. But a question may be asked. What is the propriety of the word *śiprā* when already there is the word *śṛṅga*? If both the words indicate the same thing, what is the difference—if any? Before we answer this question we shall compare a word from the Semetic language. It is *shofar,* which was indicative of a musical instrument kept in synagogues. It was actually a ram's horn flattered by heat. Dr. Cyrus Adler, who wrote a note on the word,[17] says that the etymology of the word is not clear; but he compares the word to the Assyrian word *shafer,* meaning "bright" or "clear". He further points out two words in the cuneiform list of animals, which are interesting and appear to be names of animals. One is *atūdu,* and the other is *śapparu* or *śappartu.* The quotation, as given by Dr. Adler, is as follows:—

"turāha ina qaqqadiśu u quarniśu iççábit
atūda śappar śadi śappartaśunu içbi"

(The mountain-goat, by its head and its horn it siezes). The word *atūdu* may be compared with the Tamil word *āṭṭu* (pronounced sometimes as *āḍu*), both meaning the ram or the he-goat. Though the word *śappar* or *śappartu* has no exact parallel, including the meaning of horn, in the Sanskrit language, we may compare the word *śapha,* which indicates the hoof, especially the divided hoof of the cow. On the same analogy the word *śapha* denoted the two-pronged wooden implement used for taking away metal-pots from fire.[18] The

16. I. 30. 11.
17. *JAOS,* XIV, *proceedings,* p. clxxi ff.
18. *Ai. Br.* I. 22. 14; *Śatapatha Br.* XIV. 2. 1. 16; See *Vedic Index.*

position appears to be this, (i) **śapra>śapparu/śappartu>*shofar, indicating the horn; and (ii) **śapra>*śaphra>śapha* Huf (German)/hoof (English). The probability as *śipra>*śapra,* cannot be denied.

It appears that in one direction the meaning of the horn was retained. In *śiprā,* as in *śapha,* the original idea seems to be of piercing. Though the Sanskrit language does not show $\sqrt{\acute{s}ip}$, the Avesta has $\sqrt{\acute{s}if}$, meaning to pierce, which indicates $\sqrt{\acute{s}ip}$ in the Vedic, giving *śiprā.* That *śiprā* was connected with the head is clear from the following passage from the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā,* which refers to the six-fold consecration of the head of the sacrifice (the *havirdhāna*), in which the word *śipra* occurs.[19] In this rite a staff or a pole is fixed and a roof is constructed over it. This is addressed as *"Viṣṇoḥ pṛṣṭham asi, viṣṇo rarāṭam asi, viṣṇoḥ śipre sthaḥ,"* thus connecting *śipre* with *rarāṭa* (=*lalāṭa,* which is head). This, connected with the idea of piercing, will indicate that the *śipre* were nothing else than the horns.

We may note another word from the Avesta viz. *śufra,* or *śuwra* the eliding of the *f* being a later stage. This word has been rendered as "the plough" by Sheftelowitz[20] and Hopkins.[21] This word has been formed, according to Hopkins, from $\sqrt{\acute{s}if}$ (to pierce). Now the plough-share has a peculiar relationship with the earth in the belief of the people. It is the veritable ORGAN by which the earth is furrowed to imbibe the seed. In other words, it is the male-organ for the lady Earth.[22] The word *lāṅgala,* which indicates both the plough-share and the male-organ, may be compared. It is the very *śepa,* which itself is derived from $\sqrt{\acute{s}ip}$. It is in this peculiar sex-relationship that the word *śiprā* differs from the *śṛṅga,* though the latter was also the primitive tool for the tillage of the land prior to the use of the bull and the plough. Thus, the *śiprā* was primarily the "digger". This digger-tool itself was, in the origin, a horn of a ram or a goat, or even of á bull, indicating the virile power of the animal to fructify the land. In the latter period it was worn on the head-dress, as mark of virile distinction, in gold

19. *Mait. Saṁ.* III. 8. 7; also, *Ibid,* I. 2. 9.

20. Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistic, II, 1923, p. 278.

21. *JAOS,* 1907, p. 86, N.

22. Dange, "Field and the Plough-hare", *J. Nagpur Uni.* April 1967. Vol. XVII, No. 2.

or copper as the word *ayaś-śipra* indicates. The practice was just the same as that of wearing horns, with the addition that the *śiprā* was of a pastoral origin, indicating domestication of the animals as also the cultivation of the land. Another similar word is the *kapṛt,* applied to the male-organ and the plough-share.[23]

From what we have stated above it appears that the Avestan √*śif*>*śufra*>*suwra* were derived from √*śip* *śiprā,* and that the Semetic word *shofar* came from *sufra.* It appears that the Assyrian word *śapparu* or *śappartu* retained the *p,* changing the original *i* to *a,* as the Avestan changed it to *u* in *sufra,* the original meaning of piercing being lost in the Assyrian and the Semetic. It has to be noted that the word has a pastoral association in all the cases. In the Semetic *shofar* and the Germanic *hoof/Huf,* it is more probable that the direction of formation was:—√*śip*>*śif*>*śufra*>hoof/Huf. with the connotation-change from the pointed piercing horn to the pointed piercing hoof.

In the case of *śipiviṣṭa* also the original concept seems to be of the piercing horn, mixed with that of the pointed and virile male-organ. The word is acclaimed to be having a double-sense. The word occurs only thrice in the *Ṛgveda.*[24] It is supposed to mean the *ray* as also the male-organ.[25] Following one of the traditional meanings of the word, Johannson[26] and Charpentier[27] have rightly taken it to mean the male-organ. Even the tradition connects it with *śepa* (membrum virile). The connotation will, then be, "one who entered the penis." It is also to be noted that the Vedic tradition connects the word prominently with the cattle. It is said that the cattle are *śipi* and *śipi-viṣṭa* is "one who has entered the cattle as their lord."[28] *Śipi-viṣṭa* is also said to be the body of Prajāpati, which is established in the cattle [*Mait. Saṁ.* I. 11. (*eṣā vai prajāpateḥ paśu-sthāḥ tanūr yat śipi-viṣṭam*)]. This clearly establishes the association, in the Vedic tradition, between the cattle and

23. *Ibid.*

24. VII. 99. 7=VII. 100. 7 and VII. 100. 7 and VII. 100. 5; 6.

25. *Nirukta,* V. 8; also Sāyaṇa on *ṚgV.* noted above.

26. *Solfätgen Indien,* p. 12 ff.

27. *Vienna Or. J.,* XXX, p. 427.

28. *Taitt. Saṁ.* VII. 5. 5. *paśavah śipiḥ.....śipi-śabdaḥ paśu-vācī. teṣu svāmitvena praviṣṭaḥ.*

śipi-viṣṭa; and this is corroborated by the later tradition, which makes Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa the lord of the cows. But this does not yet clearly bring out the implication of *śipi,* which the tradition connects with *śepa.* Here we may, probably, get help from the context. The *maitt. Saṁ.* starts its chapter with an episode about the cows where further it refers to the cattle being *śipi,* as we have noted above. The cows were without horns. They sat at sacrifice with the desire to get horns. Ten months they sat thus. And the horns cropped up.[29] Here, probably, we have the suggestion that it is the *śipi* (=horn ?) that is the cause, why the *Taitt. Saṁ.* calls, later in the same context, the cattle *śipi.* The word *śipi.* (fr. $\sqrt{\acute{s}ip}$) indicates the "piercing one" or the "shooting one;" and, hence, was taken to denote the *ray* in the sober sense, the *guhya* sense being "the one in the piercer" or "the one in the digger," indicating the penis and also the horn-share of the land of which Viṣṇu became the lord. In this unique aspect *śipi-viṣṭa* Viṣṇu exactly tallies with Indra, who is alone the *śiprin;* and it cannot be a mere accident that there is another epithet which *no other god,* in the *ṚV.,* except Indra and Viṣṇu share. It is *sthavira.* The unique sexual implication of this epithet about Indra is clear in the *Saṃhitā*-s where the *sthavira* Indra is said to be held by the expansive Pṛthivī-Indrāṇī on her vulva.[30] It is to be noted that in the hymn from the *Ṛgveda* (VII. 100) Viṣṇu's exploit in spreading the earth, to make her fertile for man, is alluded to just before that which refers to him as *Śipi-viṣṭa.*

29. *Taitt. Saṁ.* VII. 5. 5.

30. *Mait. Saṁ.* III. 8. 4; IV. 12. 1; *Taitt. Br.* II. 4. 2, 7-8.

APROPOS THE ṚGVEDA V. 40

By DR. V. G. RAHURKAR*

The fortieth hymn in the fifth maṇḍala of the *ṚV.* is generally considered to be the family hymn[1] of the Atris. As such, a detailed study of that hymn would prove very helpful for the purpose of determining the position of Atris in the social set up of those days. This hymn is the concluding hymn of the Indra-group. Traditionally, Indra (1—4), Sūrya (5), and Atri (6—9) are mentioned as the deities of that sūkta. The hymn can be broadly divided into two parts. The first part consisting of stanzas (1—4) contains an invocation to Indra, where he is addressed with the words, *vṛṣan indra vṛṣabhir vṛtrahantama* and is entreated to drink Soma. In the fourth stanza, various epithets such as *ṛjīṣī, vajrī, vṛṣabhaḥ, turāṣāt, śuṣmī, rājā, vṛtrahā,* and *somapāvā* are employed in respect of that god, who is invited to exult in the mid-day 'savana'. The second part consists of stanzas five to nine, and is partly in a dialogue form. It describes the wondrous exploit of Atri, namely, his rescuing of the sun from the demon Svarbhānu. Sāyaṇa[2] accordingly, remarks, in his commentary to the fifth stanza as follows: *idamādicaturbhir mantrair atrīṇām karma kīrtyate.* It will be thus seen that the two parts of this hymn are not organically connected with each other. In other words, the hymn as a whole does not constitute a homogeneous unit. For our purpose, however, it is the second part, where the exploit of Atri is mentioned, that is particularly important. The stanzas in question[3] may be translated as follows:

(5) When Svarbhānu[4] of the Asura race pierced thee, O sun,

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* Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, University of Poona, Poona-7.

1. Geldner, *Der Rigveda,* II, 38, observes that this hymn, which deals with the magic-freeing of the eclipsed sun by Atri, constitutes the family-hymn of the Atris.

2. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV,* VSM, III, p. 836.

3. *ṚV.* V. 40. 5—9.

4. It may be pointed out that the word Svarbhānu later on became a synonym of Rāhu. Cf.

तुल्येपराधे स्वर्भानुर्भानुमन्तं चिरेण यत् ।
हिमांशुमाशु ग्रसते तन्म्रदिम्नः स्फुटं फलम् ॥ *Śiśupālavadha* 2. 49

Amarakośa (digvarga) enumerates Svarbhānu among the five synonyms of Rāhu.

with darkness, all worlds appear like a man who is bewildered in a region with which he is not familiar (*akṣetravid*).[5]

(यत्त्वा सूर्य स्वर्भानुस्तमसाविध्यदासुरः ।
अक्षेत्रविद् यथा मुग्धो भुवनानि अदीधयुः ॥)

(6) When, Indra, thou didst sweep away the magical wiles of Svarbhānu, which were operating beneath the sky, Atri discovered (rather recovered) by the fourth text (*turīyeṇa brahmaṇā*) the sun, which had been hidden by the hostile darkness.

(स्वर्भानोरध यदिन्द्र माया अवो दिवो वर्तमाना अवाहन् ।
गूळ्हं सूर्यं तमसापव्रतेन तुरीयेण ब्रह्मणाविन्ददत्रिः ॥)

The phrase *turīyeṇa brahmaṇā* is very important. It means 'the fourth sacred prayer'. Great magic power was usually attributed by the seers to their hymns and prayers. The very names, brahman and mantra, by which the compositions are known would amply confirm such assumption. It can often be seen, how the god Brahmaṇaspati was a conscious priestly creation and how, through that god, the priestly community glorified the magic power of prayer.[6] Vedic priests, must have indeed been anxious generally to impress upon the people the fact that it was not merely the valour of Indra or the warriors, which helped them towards victory. In oder to be truly effective, that valour had to be necessarily aided by the magic power of prayer. Sāyaṇa interprets the phrase *turīyeṇa brahmaṇā* as 'through the fourth stanza', that is to say, through the eighth stanza in this hymn (*grāvṇo brahmā* etc.), which is the fourth stanza with reference to the stanza preceding the present one.[7] Sengupta,[8] who believes that the second part of this hymn clearly refers to the phenomena of solar eclipse, takes the words to mean, 'the fourth prayer of the day, most likely belonging to the fourth part of the day'. According to him, the solar eclipse, in question, thus came to an end in the fourth part of the day. He goes a step further and says that the word brahman here means 'a

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5. The word, *akṣetravid* has been translated by Geldner (op. cit.) as 'confused regarding the location'. He also points out that the word also occurs in *AV* 7. 1. 1; *TS* 2. 1. 2. 2; *Maitrāyaṇī Sam.* 2. 48. 11; 4. 111. 1; *KS* 12. 13 and *SB* 5. 3. 2. 2.

6. Dandekar, 'Vṛtrahā Indra', *ABORI* XXXI, p. 52.

7. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV*, VSM, II, p. 837.

8. *JRASBL*, Vol. VII, p. 92.

summer-solstice day'. In support of this he quotes the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* (I. 2) where the 'Mahāvrata day' is said to be brahman and the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (II. 409-10), which says: *madhyataḥ saṁvatsarasya viṣuvati mahāvratam upāyanti.* In short, according to Sengupta, *turīyeṇa brahmaṇā* means *turīyeṇa kālena brahma-divasena.* This interpretation suggested by Sengupta cannot, however, be accepted. For, it would be difficult to find any other passage in the *ṚV,* where the word, brahman, is used in this sense. Ludwig[9] interprets the phrase to mean, 'the fourth prayer of the day in addition to the usual liturgy of three prayers against an eclipse'.

If we investigate the word, *turīya,* and its meaning in the *ṚV,* we find that the word occurs in the *ṚV* ten times[10] and everywhere Sāyaṇa has interpreted it to mean *caturtha*, except at VIII. 3. 24, where he interprets it to mean 'destroying' (*turīyam śatrūṇām tūrvakam hiṁsitāram*). But the first interpretation is obviously preferable. The phrase *turīyeṇa brahmaṇā* would thus mean: 'as the result of the fourth magical formula.'[11]

The next stanza contains the words of Sūrya. He says—

(7) Let not the violator, (O Atri), swallow me through hunger with fearful darkness, for, I am thine (*tava santam*). Thou art Mitra[12] whose wealth is truth (*satyarādhāḥ*); do thou and the royal Varuṇa both protect me."

(मा मामिमं तव सन्तमत्रे दूरस्या द्रुग्धः भियसा नि गारीत् ।
त्वं मित्रः असि सत्यराधास्तौ मेहावतं वरुणश्च राजा ।।)

9. Ludwig, quoted by Griffith, *Hymns of the Rigveda*, I, p. 502, footnote.

10. *ṚV* I. 15. 10; 164.45; II. 37.4; IV. 45.1; VIII. 3.24; 52.7; 80.9; IX. 96. 19; X. 67. 1 and 85. 40.

11. Charpentier, *Brahman,* Untersuchung I—II, also expresses the same opinion. "Brahman—Baresman (bundle of grass)—magic—hymn on the one hand and Upaniṣadic Brahman on the other."

Gonda, *Remarks on similes in Sanskrit literature,* p. 3, points out that the Vedic repetitions and figures of speech possess a very real and essential expressive value, they intensify the magic power or religious value of the text, have a hallowing effect, and render the text solemn.

Bergaigne (quoted by Lanman in *Festgruss Roth,* p. 190) suggests that the '*turīyam brahman*' is no more than the "One! two! three! and Pesto!" of the thimble-riggers.

12. Evidently a pun on this word is here intended.

(8) Apply the Soma-crushing stones, performing worship, serving the gods with reverence and praise, the priest (*Brahmā*) Atri placed the eye of the sun in the sky, and dispelled the illusions of Svarbhānu.

(ग्राव्णः ब्रह्मा युयुजानः सपर्यन् कीरिणा देवान् नमसोपशिक्षन् ।
अत्रिः सूर्यस्य दिवि चक्षुराधात् स्वर्भानोरप माया अघुक्षत् ॥)

(9) The Atris discovered the sun which Svarbhānu had pierced with darkness. No others could.

(यं वै सूर्यं स्वर्भानुस्तमसा विध्यदासुरः ।
अत्रयस्तमन्वविन्दन् न हि अन्ये अशक्नुवन् ॥)

Let us see what exactly is suggested by stanzas 5–9. Even a superficial reading of these stanzas will lead one to the conclusion that they refer to the solar eclipse, which the seer Atri must have witnessed.

The fifth stanza describes, in a vivid manner, the confusion caused among the people when the sun was enveloped in darkness. They did not know what had happened to the sun, all of a sudden. So naturally they attributed the authorship of the mischief to Svarbhānu.[13] The sixth stanza tells us that Atri rescued the sun by means of his 'fourth sacred prayer'. The seventh stanza, which is the speech of Sūrya, suggests that the eclipse was feared to be total but that it was not so at the place where Atri observed it. Sūrya requests Atri and Varuṇa to protect him from the sorcerer who eclipses him with darkness. The eighth stanza clearly mentions that Atri placed the eye of Sūrya in the sky. This indicates that the eclipse had come to an end and that Atri was ultimately successful in defeating Svarbhānu and freeing the sun. The last stanza glorifies this achievement of the Atris—an achievement which it was impossible for others to accomplish.

It would be helpful to examine, at this stage, the views expressed by different scholars in connection with this hymn. Lanman[14] remarks that the hymn is not homogeneous and contains the substance of two separate hymns. He draws attention to a parallel

13. Lanman, *Festgruss Roth*, p. 190, interprets the word, *Svarbhānu* to mean 'having i.e. keeping or withholding the sun's beams (svar-bhānu).'

14. Lanman, op. cit., p. 187.

to this Vedic *itihāsa*-hymn occurring in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*,[15] II. 1. 10, where Buddha figures as the rescuer. He has also pointed out that the latter may be a mere imitation of what is represented in the *Brāhmaṇas*. Oldenberg[16] also says that the first four stanzas belong to the original and stanzas 5–9 are an appendix, a sort of *ākhyāna* relating to the magic about solar eclipse. Bergaigne,[17] on the other hand, is unique in his view about this hymn. He points to a sort of analogy between V. 40 and V. 78[18] because both the hymns begin with three stanzas in Uṣṇik metre with a refrain and a fourth in Triṣṭubh. Both the hymns, again, have an appearance of a magical formula. It is, however, more likely that, in V. 40, two independent fragments have been brought together, at a later stage, with a view to artificially associating Indra with an exploit with which, presumably, he was not originally connected. Such a tendency to connect the national god Indra, with every important event is often noticeable in the *ṚV*.

Svarbhānu is not mentioned at any other place in the *ṚV*. He is also not mentioned in the *AV*. The *AV* mentions some exploits of Atri in connection with the sun[19] but there is nowhere any clear reference to an eclipse. The *Brāhmaṇas*,[20] on the other hand, contain frequent allusions to Svarbhānu's evil doing and to Atri's beneficent exploit.[21]

In the *MBH*[22] we are told of an exploit of the sage Atri, who interposed to deliver the gods from distress and restore light to the

15. Ed. by Feer, p. 51.

16. *Noten*, p. 334 ff.

17. Quoted by Lanman in *Festgruss Roth*, p. 190.

18. The hymn deals with Atri's rescue from the *Ṛbīṣa* and begins with अश्विनावेह गच्छतम् ।

19. *AV* XIII. 2. 4, 12, 36.

20. Cf. *TMB*, VI. 6. 8, ŚB V. 3. 2.

21. The *Kauṣītaki Br.* (24. 3. 24) seems to provide us with a clue as regards the time, when the eclipse must have occurred. It tells us that the Atris performed a three-day rite before and after the *Viṣuvanta* and drove away the darkness of Svarbhānu. This would indicate the day on which the eclipse occurred. According to the *AB* (18. 18) and the *KB* (19.3), *Viṣuvanta* is the summer-solstice day. The *TS* (VII. 4. 8), the *TB* (V. 9) and the *Yājuṣa Jyautiṣa* (23) also suggest the same thing.

22. *MBh.*, XIII. 157. 1–14.

celestial luminaries. Here, Svarbhānu, who fought on behalf of the demons, is said to have covered the sun and the moon with his arrows. The gods then approached Atri and requested him to defeat the demons and Atri did accordingly. The story thus coincides in many details with that in the *ŚB* (V. 3. 2. 2) and seems to represent the middle link in the chain of development and growth of the later Rāhu-Ketu legend out of the Vedic Svarbhānu legend.

ṚV. X. 14. IA : A FRESH APPROACH

By N. M. Kansara*

The hymns of the *Ṛgveda* have so far defied the successive attempts of most of the western scholars right from Colebrooke to Renou, since they have based their interpretations mostly on the results of the researches in the field of Comparative Philology and Comparative Religion, and on their assumptions as to the general lack of understanding or consistency on the part of Indian commentators like Sāyaṇa and others. Modern Indian interpreters of the *ṚV.* like Swāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī, Shri Aurobindo, Pt. Satavalekar and Ananda Coomarswami are generally rejected by modern orientalists who are rarely satisfied with anything which does not warrant the approval of the western scholars like Roth, Oldenburg, Grassmann, Geldner, Renou and so on. In such a tragic situation in the field of Vedic interpretation Dr. S. S. Bhave has struck a new path which strictly follows the Pāṇinian system as to the accents and their modifications in the Vedic morphological and syntactical structures. Most of the western orientalists have normally ignored this element which is one of the most important factors in the matter. As has been stressed by Dr. Bhave, a fresh enquiry in this light is a must. Similarly in the field of Vedic metre also, the orientalists have been taking for granted the principles laid down by Arnold as the last word in the field. It is necessary to re-examine the present outlook in view of the latest researches in the matter by scholars like Pt. Yudhisthira Mimamsaka. The following is a specimen attempt at a minute analysis of only the first quarter of the first ṛc of *ṚV.* X. 14, a very well known hymn.

The Saṁhitā text of the first quarter is:

Pareyivāṁsáṁ pravató mahīranú ;

the corresponding Pada text being–

Pareyi' vāṁsáṁ | pra'vatáḥ | mahīḥ | anú ||[1]

* Head of the Sanskrit Department, M. N. College, Visnagar (North Gujarat).

1. For convenience the accent 'udātta' is shown with a zero under the vowel in both the Saṁhitā as well as the Pada texts.

Here the word 'pareyivāṁsaṁ' qualifies the word 'Yamaṁ' in the fourth quarter. It is taken to be the accusative sing. of the Perfect Participle of 'Para+√i' to go. Peterson[2] translates it in the indicative sense, viz., "Him that went". Macdonell[3] also follows Peterson in that he translates it as "who has passed away". Evidently they have rejected Sāyaṇa who takes it in the causal sense and paraphrases it as "prāpitavantam" i.e. "one who has conducted". Sāyaṇa follows Yāska[4] who has explained the word as "paryāgatavantam", which is elaborated by Durga[5] as "one who makes (them) arrive at". Mukunda Jha Baxi[6] has also supported this on the grounds of Pāṇini. Udgītha also agrees with Yāska. Inspite of all this Renou has preferred to follow Peterson and Macdonell! He translates the word as "he who is gone away".

'Pravataḥ' also has been explained variously by various scholars. Sāyaṇa explains it as "meritorious persons who performed meritorious deeds instrumental to the enjoyments here in the physical world".[7] But Peterson has rejected it as fanciful and wrong, without giving any solid reason. Bhandarkar seeks the support of Lindner when he remarks that the suffix 'vat' forms feminine abstract nouns from prepositions and adverbs, and the accent is always on the last syllable. But Bhandarkar need not have looked to Lindner when the latter himself was merely paraphrasing pāṇini whom the former could have easily resorted to for help. In V. I. 118 Pāṇini clearly shows that the termination 'vat' is accented in view of III. I. 1—3. The preposition 'pra' is unaccented as is clear from the Padapāṭha, wherein both these elements are distinctly separated by an 'avagraha' sign. Peterson and Macdonell have followed Roth in translating the word as 'height' or 'steeps' more or less arbitrarily. Both Peterson and Bhandarkar have taken the word as qualifying the next word 'mahīḥ' which they translate as 'great'. Macdonell's 'mighty' does not make much difference. All

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2. Cf. *Hymns from the Ṛgveda* (7th edn.) p. 256 and 327.

3. Cf. *A Vedic Reader for Students*, pp. 164-65.

4. *Nirukta*, X. 20; परेयिवांसं पर्यागतवन्तम् ।

5. Durgavṛtti on *Nirukta* X. 20:

क्रमेण मरणादूर्ध्वं तत्तद्भोगोचितभूलोकादिप्रदेशविशेषान् प्रापितवन्तम् ।

6. Cf. "Nirukta Vivṛti" on *Nirukta* X. 20 which quotes the "Pāṇinian Sūtras" III. ii. 109 उपेयिवाननाश्वाननूचानश्च and the Siddhānta-Kaumudī on it, viz., इति क्वसन्तो निपातस्तत्रोपेत्य विवक्षितमिति ।।

7. प्रवतः प्रकृष्टकर्मवतो भूलोकवर्तिभोगसाधनं पुण्यमनुष्ठितवतः पुरुषान् ।

these scholars have been groping in the dark while thinking themselves to be shading light. The relevant Pāṇinian aphorism quoted above[8] specifically lays down that the termination 'vat' is suffixed to the prepositions only when the latters convey the sense of a root i.e. action, and that the resulting form is feminine. Now the sense of the preposition 'pra' has been indicated by Yāska[9] as 'distance'. But in the present context, the termination 'vat' being suffixed to it, it indicates 'intensity' or 'excellence' of an action. And Sāyaṇa has meticulously fo.lowed Pāṇini in this case. Yāska, has chosen to paraphrase it to mean 'persons attaining to higher existences'. Both Peterson and Bhandarkar construe this word as qualifying 'mahīḥ'.

Macdonell considers 'mahīḥ' as an adjective. On comparision with *ṚV.* VI. 22. 4, *AV.* VI. 28. 3, XVIII. 3. 13 and XVIII. 4. 7 this word should mean 'world' or 'levels of existence'. *Nighaṇṭu* lists this word in four senses, viz., earth, speech, cow and 'dyāvā-pṛthivī.' The reason why both 'pravataḥ' and 'mahīḥ' are in Accusative Sing. Fem. is that both are governed by 'anu' which being a 'karmapravacanīya'—as is evident from the accent on its initial syllable—indicates the sense of 'portion' or 'region' in accordance with the Pāṇinian aphorism I. 3. 89.

In the light of the above discussion 'pravato mahīḥ' must indicate the third i.e. the lower most region of heaven which is the domain of the Pitṛs. The whole quarter will have to be translated thus; '(to Yama) who has been conducting....to the lower-most regions'. The beauty of the Vedic construction lies in the fact that 'pravato' can be construed independently also, in which case it will indicate the sense of Sāyaṇa also. And why should we presume that the Vedic poet was too barbarous to be capable of utilizing his words with utmost economy while extracting maximum shades of meanings just by its skillful disposition? Vedic poet has given ample proof of his poetic skill in the mild tinge of alliteration naturally budding forth in the easy repetition of the consonants like 'p', 'r'. The metre of this quarter, though *Tṛṣṭubh* in general as it consists of eleven syllables, is remarkably identical with the rhythm of the classical *Vaṁśastha* metre, which also is a proof positive about the poetic genius of the ṛṣi.

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8. उपसर्गाच्छन्दसि धात्वर्थे ।।५।१।११८।।
9. *Nirukta*, I. 1. आ इत्यर्वागर्थे । प्र परेत्यस्य प्रातिलोम्यम् ।
10. लक्षणेत्थंभूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु प्रतिपर्यनवः ।।२।३।८३।।

THE WORD "GARTA" IN THE ṚGVEDA

By Dr. B. H. Kapadia*

The study of the *Ṛgveda* is very very interesting from the stand-point of Semantics. The outstanding peculiarity of the *Ṛgveda* is its Semantics, Grammar, Metre, Vocabulary, Accents etc Cultivating acquaintance with strange words is also interesting. It is proposed to discuss in this article the word *Garta* and its derivatives.

The word *Garta* occurs at the following places in the *Ṛgveda*:

आ रोहथो वरुण मित्र गर्तमतश्चक्षाथे अदितिं दितिं च । 5.62.8

O Mitra and Varuṇa! mount your elevated seat from where you behold Aditi and Diti.

नमस्वन्ता धृतदक्षाधि गर्ते मित्रासाथे वरुणेळास्वन्तः ॥ 5.62.5

O, Mitra and Varuṇa! deserving reverence, sit down on your elevated seat amid oblations, ye having strong will-power.

वृष्टिद्यावा रीत्यापेषस्पती दानुमत्याः । बृहन्तं गर्तमाशाते ॥ 5.68.5

Let the Heaven shower, let the water flow, O lord of food bringing heaven's gift you have occupied your large seat.

स ईं स्पृधो वनते अप्रतीतो बिभ्रद् वज्रं वृत्रहणं गभस्तौ ।
तिष्ठद्धरी अध्यस्तेव गर्ते वचोयुजा वहत इन्द्रमृष्वम् ॥ 6.20.9

The unassailable overcomes the opponent, he who carries the thunder-bolt that kills Vṛtra. He mounts the bay-coloured horse like a protecting house, a shelter. Yoked only by words carry the mighty Indra.

यो वां गर्तं मनसा तक्षदेतमूर्ध्वां धीतिं कृणवद् धारयच्च ।
उक्षेथां मित्रावरुणा घृतेन ता राजाना सुक्षितीस्तर्पयेथाम् ॥ 7.64.4

He who fashions mentally for you this seat, he who sends after the prayer and sustains it, O King Mitra and Varuṇa! sprinkle with ghee and gladden the bliss-giving dwelling places.

स्तुहि श्रुतं गर्तसदं युवानं मृगं न भीममुपहत्नुमुग्रम् । 2.33.11

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* V. Vidyapeeth, Vallabha Vidyanagar.

Praise the celebrated youth seated on the elevated seat. He attacks the strong like a wild beast . . . . .

अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची गर्तारुगिव सनये धनानाम् ।
जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासा उषा हस्रेव निरिणीते अप्सः ॥ 1.124.7

Like a brotherless sister, she goes towards men. She is like one who mounts the dais in order to win wea'th like a well-dressed and smiling wife longing a husband, Uṣas uncovers her breasts like a courtesan.

From the above quotations it is known that the word *Garta* is masculine in gender and is found only in the three Maṇḍalas 5, 6 and 7. Its derivatives *Gartāsad* and *Gartāruh* occur only once in the *Ṛgveda* and that too in the 2nd and 1st Maṇḍalas respectively. The word *garta* occurs in the singular. It is found in the Acc. (thrice) and in the Loc. (twice). The gods connected with the word *garta* in the above five passages are Mitrāvaruṇā only. *Garta* has one adjective viz. Bṛhantaṁ (5.68.5). Verbs connected with it are: *ā+ruh, ā+si,* and *takṣ.* All the three verbs can very well go with a chariot or a seat of the chariot.

In *Nighaṇṭu* 3.4.3 *garta* means house (*Gartaḥ iti gṛha nāma*).

In *Nirukta* the other meanings of *garta* are: श्मशानसञ्चयः from गुरुतेः अपजूर्णो भवति Yāska quotes नोपरस्याविष्कुर्यात् यदुपरस्याविष्कुर्यात् गर्तेष्ठाः स्यात् प्रमायुको यजमानः इत्यपि निगमो भवति । रक्षोऽपि गर्त उच्यते । गृणातेः स्तुतिकर्मणः । स्तुततमं यानम् ।

So gartaḥ=Rathaḥ, a chariot and he substantiates this: आ रोहथो वरुण मित्र गर्तम् Ratha comes from *gṛ* because it is the most praiseworthy (*stutatamaṃ*) vehicle (*yānaṃ*).

The *Wöterbuch Zum Rig-veda*[1] notes the following meaning :—

(1) higher seat, throne especially the ruling seat of Mitra and Varuṇa.

(2) an elevated seat in the chariot to sit and stand. *Gartāsad* means sitting in the elevated seat of the chariot.

gartāruh means: mounting on the elevated seat of the chariot. (at fight).

1. 3rd ed., 1955. p. 387.

In *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*[2] we get :—

Garta m. grave, hole, pit, *Nir.* 3.5; *AK* 1.2.1.2; *H.* 1 364, and 2,164; *Med. t* 13 गर्तमिव पतति ; *S.Br.* 14.7.1.20, 3.6.1.18, 5.2.1.7; *Sank. Gr.* 1.15.3.2 जानुमात्रं गर्तं खत्वा *Asv. Gr.* 2.8.4.5; *Kau.* 49.66 ससत्वेषु गर्तेषु ; M.4.47 स्नानंसमाचरेन्नित्यं गर्तप्रसवरोषु च 203 ददर्श पितामहान् लम्बमानान् महागर्ते पादैरर्धरवाङ्मुखान् ; *M.Bh.* 1. 1034, 3.8553; गर्तरुह इवोरगः ; R. 4.34.2 विवर्ते गर्ते निपपात ; *Mārk. P.* 21.9.10 अशुचिस्थानमुच्छिष्टप्रक्षेपणार्थं गर्तादिकम् ; Mit. 267.5 शेते विण्मूत्रयोर्गर्ते ; Bhag. *P.* 3, 31.5 रोमगर्तेषु (सूकरस्य) 13.33 ममावर्ते मोहगर्ते निपातिताः ; Dev. 1.40 also n.; ततस्ते पर्यवर्तंत सर्वे द्रोणरथं प्रति भयात्पतगराजस्य गर्तानीव महोरगाः ॥ also *M. Bh.* 7. 4953 f.; गर्ता *H.* 1364, *Sch. Pankt* 81. 22 ff. 82.2, 96 14.20, 142.6. At the end of an adjectival compound feminine आः निविगर्ता (गर्भा) दद्भूमिम्; *M.Bh.* 13.3184. At the end of place names P. 4. 2. 137.

(2) Ledenhohle H. and Med. *Gartanvat* (from 2 *garta*) adj. with a hole, provided with depth गर्तन्वान्यूपोऽतीक्ष्णाग्रो *S. Br.* 5.2.1.7.

Gartamit (2. गर्त + मित्) adj. immersed in a pit. *T.S.* 6.6.4.2, अगर्तमित् ; *S. Br.* 3.6.1.8.

गर्तासद् (1. गर्त + सद्) adj. sitting on a chariot, *R.V.* 2.33.11 स्तुहि श्रुतं......etc.

गर्तारुह (I. गर्त + आरुह्) adj. mounting the chariot गर्तारुगिव सनये धनानाम् *R.V.* 1.124.7; *Nir.* 3.5.

गर्ताश्रय (2, गर्त + आश्रय m. a beast dwelling in a pit (mouse, rat) मृगगर्ताश्रयापराः *M.* 7.22.

गर्तेश (गर्त+ईश) m. lord of a pit.

गर्तेष्ठाः (गर्ते Loc. from garta+stha) adj. in a pit, i.e. placed in a pit. यदुपरस्या विष्कुर्याद्गर्तेष्ठाः स्यात्

In *Zwölf Hymmen Des Rigveda* Ernst Windisch informs[3] गर्तः m. means Grube.

2. 2nd pt., ed. 1858 by Roth and Böhtlingk on p. 698.

3. On p. 119.

In *A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*,[4] M. Mayrhofer has to inform us :

Garta (1) m. Grube, Loch/hollow, hole

Garta (2) m. Hoher Sitz/high seat (of the king, particularly the chariot seat).

Gartāruh mounting on the stage.

Adhigartya : found on the high seat (madhu *R.V.* 5.62)

Originally it is a seat woven from Ruten. (poles or rods)

Corresponding words of Dravidian origin are *Garda ;* Nepali *Gadi* throne ; Kanerese *garduge, gaddige ;* Telugu *gadde* throne etc.

In *A Grammatical Dictionary of Sanskrit* (Vedic) I *Phonetics* Dr. Suryakanta Sastri[5] gives the following information :

Garta=pit: *Karta* in some words. Media stands for the older tenuis; *garta* Seat has acquired the meaning pit also under the influence of *Karta.*

We get the following information in the *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*:[6] *Gartaḥ-ṛta-tam* (1) a hollow, a hole, cave (2) a grave, the hollow of the lions (3) a kind of disease, name of a country, a part of trigartas, (4) vedic–a throne, (5) a chariot, the seat of the chariot (6.209), (6) a table for playing at dice, (7) a house, (8) the part of an assemb'y room.

Regarding *garta* we are informed : अत्र औचित्येन राजपुरुषैः न्यायनिर्णेतृभिः च अधिष्ठितं स्थानं उच्यते । तत् आरोहति इति गर्तारुक् So *garta* means a law court presided over by the judges who are all assisted by the officers of the king. In this light let us examine the word *gartāruk*. The word is explained in the 3rd ch. of Yāska's *Nirukta*. The explanation is गर्तारोहिणी इव धनलाभाय दक्षिणाजी गर्त्तः सभा स्थाणुः and *garta* is derived from the root gṛ-gṛṇāteḥ सत्यसंगरो भवति । तं तत्र या अपुत्रा वा अपतिका सा रोहति तां तत्राक्षैः आघ्नन्ति । सा रिक्थं लभते ।

4. On p. 327.

5. On p. 86.

6. Pt. 2 of V. M. Apte, ed. by P. K. Gode and Karve, on p. 651.

Durga explains *garta* as अक्षनिर्वपणपीठम् a raised place or a dais for throwing dice on. Thus, *garta* is the pillar of the gambling hall. According to Yāska in *gartāruk* there is a reference to a lady from the South. This lady goes to the gambling hall to get wealth. Durga explains *garta* as that board on which dice are thrown.. *Garta* derived from gṛ suggests that she has to speak truth and truth alone as such is the law of the gambling hall. Like other places this place is not one in which untruth is harboured. A lady who has no son or a husband comes here and has to tell truth regarding the throw of the dice. From her truthful behaviour she gets the money of her husband to which other relatives also lay their claim. It is suggested that her relatives here give her money for sustenance. But it is not clear whether such was the custom in the South of India only. If it was so then how can there be a reference to the South India custom in the *Ṛgveda?* Dr. Laxman Sarup[7] says that orthodox Hindus of Southern India have the custom of filling of the lap (Jholibharaṇa) of a widow with money by the members of her paternal family. The reference to the South here takes away the real value of this suggestion as it is going too far to read the peculiar custom of the South in the *Ṛgveda*. It is quite probable that the expected sense here is: like a man ascending a chariot (ratha) Uṣas goes to gain wealth.[8] While explaining Sāyaṇa has the word *Dakṣiṇājī* and Durga *Dākṣiṇātya*. Durga explains thus: such a woman sits upon the dais in the midst of the gamblers, speaks truth and the gamblers then being convinced of her righteousness and her claim to her late husband's share in the family property obtain it from her relatives who have till then denied her claim. Durga's explanation is sensible and intelligible for there is no propriety in striking a woman with dice. Dr. Sarup explains *gartāruk* as: one who fights in a chariot. Then the simile means: like a chariot-fighter the dawn comes to obtain wealth.

From the above discussion we can surmise that the word *garta* is found in all the three genders viz. m., f., and n. The meaning of the word has undergone gradual change.

In two passages Geldner has something to add: He explains *garta* as scaffold. According to Hillebrandt *gartāruk* is a female dancer, singer; according to Sāyaṇa a widow appearing before a law-

7. In *Nirukta*: *English Translation*, p. 232.
8. *Nirukta English Tr.* p. 230-1.

court, to claim her property. In any case, she is a woman who appears for money. The above information is on 1.124.7.

On 7.64.4 : *garta* is here the elevated seat in the chariot, with a synecdoche for the chariot (ratha—Sāyaṇa). It is only a metaphor for the poem. Cf. 10.135.

The word *garta* appears to have originally the meaning a chariot or an elevated seat in a chariot. Then an elevated seat in the gambling hall on which a person is required to sit in order to tell truth and truth alone. Subsequently, it meant a house, then a pit or a hollow and even a cemetry. It is only in 1.124.7 that *garta* because of *gartāruk* can mean a board or a dais on which dice were thrown. Even in the famous Akṣasūkta (10.34) this word is not found. Here is the proper place for such a word if this is the real meaning of the word. But, such a word here in this Sūkta is conspicuous by its absence.

AN ASPECT OF PĀLI SEMANTICS

By SUDHIBHUSHAN BHATTACHARYA*

Language is the vehicle of culture. Every culture-group has a language or dialect of its own. This speech usually expresses the culture of that group. But we know that no culture is static. It is changing constantly either due to some internal reasons, or due to contact with other cultures. The language of a people is also therefore changing constantly in order to cope with this change in their culture.

This particular type of change in a language is reflected more in the words and their meanings than in the other linguistic levels, phonological, morpological and syntactical. We may illustrate this aspect of language dynamics with the help of the situation in Pālī, because in this case the history and details of the culture-change are known to us.

Sanskrit is the vehicle of Hindu or Brahmanical culture, while Pālī which is the next stage in Indo-Āryan, is the vehicle of the culture of the Hīnayāna (or Old school) Buddhists. Buddha revolted against the Brahmanical path. He introduced many new concepts and rites. So it remains to be seen how the followers of this new religion who spoke an Aryan tongue adapted to a different culture, expressed these new concepts, and also named the new rites.

If we study Pālī from this point of view we find that in addition to the phonological and grammatical changes from Sanskrit, Pālī shows also many semantic variations from Sanskrit which became necessary to cope with the cultural innovations. In this semantic field Pālī, while disagreeing with Sanskrit, either follows its own tradition, or adheres to the old Vedic usage. The pattern of change in the semantic field therefore agrees in general with the pattern to be found in the fields of Pālī phonology and grammar.

The object of this paper is not to discuss the whole field of Pālī semantics. Here we will briefly discuss only those semantic adjustments that became necessary in Pālī for expressing a new faith.

* Linguist, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta.

Let us take at first the Sanskrit words *jāti* and *yajña.* The word *jāti* originally meant "birth", from which developed the secondary meanings "caste", "rank by birth". The latter meanings became prominent in Classical Sanskrit literature. In Pālī the word *jāti* of course did not undergo any phonological change, but it changed its meaning. We know that Buddhism was opposed to all differences due to birth. So in Pālī the original meaning of the word (i.e. the meaning "birth") is more prominent than "rank". The secondary meanings of the word *jāti* that developed in Pālī are "rebirth", "possibility of rebirth". Thus, we read of *jāti, jarā, vyādhi, maraṇa,* etc. in Pālī literature, and also come across usages like *antimā jāti* "the last rebirth", *purimā jāti* "a former birth", etc. It is obvious that this special meaning developed in Pālī due to the dominance of the idea of rebirth in the Hīnayāna Buddhism. The Pālī word *jātaka* "account of Buddha's rebirths", is also semantically different from the Sk. word *jātaka* "one who is born".

In the case of the word *yajña,* the word changed both its form and meaning in Pālī. In Sk. it means "devotion", "worship", "sacrifice", etc. The meaning "sacrifice" is more common in Classical Sanskrit. In Pālī the form of the word changed to *yañña,* while the meaning changed to "almsgiving", "a gift to the Saṅgha or the the bhikkhu". Buddhist culture was against all cruelty to animals and therefore discarded the Hindu sacrifices. So the meaning "sacrifice" had little scope to survive in Pālī.

Many such examples may be quoted. Thus, Sk. *artha* originally meant "result", "cause", "aim", "purpose", "advantage", etc.; also Sk. *arth-* "to strive", "to desire", "to want", etc. (cf. Pā. *atthin* "desirous", "wanting anything", etc.). Later in Sk. the word *artha* more commonly means "wealth". But the Buddhists are against all sorts of wealth. So the Pā. word *attha* began to be used more commonly in the sense of "moral good", or "blessing", or "welfare in general" (cf. Sk. *paramārtha*). Thus, Pā. *atthavant* means "full of benefit", but Sk. *arthavat* means "wealthy", "full of sense", etc. When in Pālī *attha/aṭṭha* means "a meaning", it actually expresses "literal meaning", as distinct from *dhamma,* i.e. "interpreted or implied meaning". Similarly, in Pālī the word *ajjhatta* < Sk. *adhyātma,* means "internal", "personal", etc. The Sk. meaning "Supreme spirit" is not there. So, Sk. *adhyātma-rati* means "a man delighting in the contemplation of the Supreme spirit", but Pā. *ajjhatta-rata* means "with inward joy". Similarly, Sk. *ādhyātmika* means "relat-

ing to self or soul", "relating to the Supreme spirit", "spiritual", "holy", etc. But in Pā. *ajjhattika* means "personal", "inward", i.e. opposite to "outward".

The Pā. word *kamma* < Sk. *karma,* is also interesting, for apart from the original and general meanings of the word *karma,* there also developed in Pālī a special ecclesiastical sense of the word *kamma* "where it means proceedings", "ceremony performed by a lawfully constituted chapter of bhikkhus". Many new compound verbs also gained currency, e.g. *kamman karoti* "to take proceedings against", *kamman garahati* "to find fault with proceedings gone through", etc. The word *kamma* had many other semantic developments in Pālī to suit the new philosophical doctrines of the Buddhists.

The change of the Sk. word *skandha* > Pā. *kandha,* is also interesting. In Sanskrit the older meanings of the word seem to be "shoulder", "stem or trunk of a tree." But in Pā. the principal meanings are "bulk", "massiveness", "multitude . These meanings are also to be found in late Sk. literature. The plural form of the Pālī word (i.e. *kandhā*) developed some new meanings, namely, "the five constituent elements of beings," "the elements or substrata of sensory existence", "the sensorial aggregates which condition the appearance of life in any form", etc. Similarly, Pā *sankkhāra* < Sk. *saṁskāra,* in its singular and plural forms, has been used in a number of new meanings reflecting the new philosophical doctrine. The change of the Sk. word *ṛddhi* may also be noted. There it means "prosperity", "success", "good fortune , "wealth , abundance", etc. In Pālī the derivative *iddhi* developed at first the meaning, "psychic powers", viz. "to be invisible, to pass through solid things, to walk on water, etc." But Buddha discarded these mystic wonders and advocated instead wonders of education. He spoke of the *iddhi-padā,* i.e. determination to concentrate on purpose, on will, on thoughts, etc.

To form new words with the help of prefixes (propositional particles) and new combinations of free forms is another important aspect of Pālī semantics. We may illustrate this point. The word *kāya* means in Sk. "body", "trunk of tree". But in Pā. the word often means "group", "collection", "heap", etc. Since the word *kāya* is derived from the root *ci-,* the meaning of the word to be more commonly found in Pā. is the original one; cf. Pā. *mahājan-kāya* "a crowd". The retention of the original meaning seems to have been

influenced by the Buddhists' idea about the body that it is a collection of multiple elements. The semantic growth of the word does not, however, stop here. A new word is found to be formed in Pālī by prefixing *ni-* to it. The word *nikāya* is typical of Pālī. It means "body", "assemblage", "collection", etc. This word gradually developed (the secondary meaning of "collection of Buddhists' *suttas*". Another Pā. word derived from *kāya* is *sakhāya* < Sk. *sat-kāya*. The Sk. word does not have any special meanings. But in Pālī *sakkāya* means "the body in being", "individuality", etc. and *sakkāya-diṭṭhi* "heresy of individuality, speculation, etc." We may conclude this short study by citing one more example. Sk. *gṛha* "house" is changed to *ghara* in Pālī, but the word does not change its meaning. When the Pā. word *ghara,* however, is compounded with the word *bandhana,* it develops the special meaning, "marriage". This usage is peculiar to Pālī because of the Buddhists' aversion to family life.

Our main object here is to draw the attention of scholars to this aspect of semantics. In this short article we have tried to demonstrate the cultural factor in the change of meanings. We need not multiply examples, because our main issue must have been clear by now.*

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* Forms and meanings have been quoted here mainly from *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by M. Monier Williams, and *Pali-English Dictionary* by T. W. Rhys Davids and Willam Stede.

A SYNTACTICAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE AŚOKAN PRĀKṚT AND ARDHAMĀGADHĪ

By DR. S. N. GHOSAL*

According to Pāṇini[1] the word *anya* or any of its synonyms governs a word in the ablative case, from which distinction is to be indicated. The word *anya* or its equivalent has got the feature of an adjective and it is meant to qualify the referred object. Whitney provides the example *Ko mitrād anyaḥ*, 'who else than a friend' from the *Hitopadeśa*, which gives a very clear idea about the use of the word, which has got the function to govern a form in the ablative (*mitrāt*) case.[2] It is interesting to note that like the adjective an adverb too built with the suffix-*tra* from the very same word of distinction i.e. *anya* governs likewise an ablative case. Whitney cites an example to illustrate the phenomenon, which stands; *tad anyatra tvan ni dadhmase* (*AV*). We set this down elsewhere away from 'thee'. Here the word *anyatra* retains in tact its adverbial character, where the sense of the locative is quite predominant, but it has governed the word *tvat*, which occurs nevertheless in the very same ablative case.[3] Though we do not get any example from the grammar justifying the use of an adverb, built from the adjectival word of distinction i.e. *anyatra* in the present case, we cannot deny the phenomenon on the face of the existence of a clear example, which we have mentioned above.

It is interesting to note that in the Aśokan edicts the word *anyatra* has lost entirely its adverbial character and been reduced to a preposition. It simply conveys the sense of 'without, except' and stands as a synonym to the prepositional words *ṛte* and *vinā*. Further it does not govern a case in the ablative, as we have noted in the above-quoted example, but the one in the instrumental which has given a distinction to the form. We quote certain examples, which are assumed to clarify the situation. In the VI Rock-edict there occurs the line: *dukaram tu idaṁ añat agena parākramena* (Girnār), 'This is indeed difficult to do without great undertak-

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* Lecturer, Calcutta University.

1. The sūtra stands as: *anyārāditararte dikśabdāñcuttarapadā jāhiyukta.* (2. 3. 29).

2. *Sanskrit Grammar,* (291 to p. 97).

3. *Ibid.*

ing.[4] In the Rock-edict X one finds: *dukaram tu kho etaṁ chudakena va janena usaṭena va añatra agena parākramena savaṁ paricajitpā* (Girnar), 'Verily it is difficult to attain such a state by the class of men of low or high rank except by the utmost exertion by giving up all things. The Pillar–edict I also provides a similar use: *hidata Pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye aṁnata agāyā dhaṁmakāmatāyā agāya palikhāyā agāya susūsāyā agena bhayenā agena usāhenā* (Girnar), 'The benefits of this world and the next are hard to achieve except by utmost devotion to the Law (of Piety) without examination (of one's own self) or introspection, utmost obedience, utmost effort or exertion.' There may be some doubt regarding the case of the forms *dhammakāmatāyā, palīkhāyā* and *susūsāyā,* which are likely to be confused as the forms of the abl., gen. or loc., but the same should disappear forthwith on the consideration of the words *bhayenā* and *usāhenā,* which occur unhesitatingly in the instrumental and justify the occurrence of the aforementioned word in the same very instrumental case.

In the Aśokan edict on one occasion only the word *añata* (i.e. skt. *anyatra*) has been differently used and the same has ceased to function as a preposition. Here the word has done the function of a conjunction, of which the true nature can be easily perceived from its translation. The sentence, where the word *anyatra* with this function stands, occurs in the Rock-edict X and reads: *devānaṁ piye piyadaṣā lājā yaṣo vā kivi vā no mahāthāvā manati anatā* (Girnar *añata*) *yaṁ pi yaso vā Kiti vā ichati tadatvāye ayatiye cā jane dhaṁmasusuṣā susuṣātu me dhaṁmavataṁ vā anuvidhiyotu ti* (Kalsi), 'King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the gods does not consider renown or glory as leading to great gain, except when he wishes for renown or glory that his people should harken at present and in future to the Law of piety (as propounded) by me, and conform to my instruction in the Law of piety as given by me. Here it is evident that the word *anyatra* connects two sentences and does unequivocally the function of a conjunction. But as this mode of employment stands as a solitary exception to the common use of *anyatra,* that has got the characteristics of a preposition governing a word in the instrumental case, it is not being taken into consideration while we show the identical use of *anyatra* in its prepositional function in the language of the Jaina Canons and hold brief for an agreement between the Aśokan Prākṛt and this speech.

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4. The translations of the passages of the inscriptions are taken from the book of R. G. Basak.

Now it may be stated here that this mode of application of *anyatra* as a preposition governing the instrumental case is not a feature of the Aśokan Prākṛt alone. The similar use may be noted in Ardha-māgadhī too, which is the language of the Jaina canonical texts and which the adherents of this faith call Ārṣa to show deference to their own religion and scriptures. We have observed the use of the word in this technical aspect in many places of the *Uvāsagadasāo* which perhaps vouches for its common appearance in the religious works of the Jainas. We quote here some from the later-mentioned text to demonstrate the accuracy of our statement.

As these examples are taken from one particular portion of the text, the context of these examples will be helpful to appreciate their proper significance. Ānanda, a rich house-holder, becomes inclined to lead a spiritual life after he came in contact with the Lord Mahāvīra—the great teacher of the Nirgrantha faith. But as he cannot renounce the world completely, he decides to live a temperate life by restricting his possessions. The examples in fact show how he withdrew himself from various objects of the world and set a limit to his acquisition. Some of the examples are:

nannattha (*na* + *annattaha*) *egenaṁ alla laṭṭhīmahuenaṁ avasesaṁ dantavihiṁ paccakkhāmi* /23.

"Excepting one kind viz. a juicy or fresh stick of sweet taste I renounce the use of every other kind of tooth cleaners.[6]"

5. The literal translation of the passage has created some confusion for which the sentence itself may be held responsible. It involves a faulty construction, since it begins with the expressions *devānaṁ piye* introducing the subject in the 3rd person but retains the word *me* at the same time by changing the character of the person from third to first. But R. K. Mookerjee has avoided the anamoly. He translates: "His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the king does not regard glory or fame as bringing much gain except that whatever glory or fame he desires, it would be only for this that the people might in the present time and in the future should practise obedience to Dharma and conform to the observances of Dharma." Jules Bloch has also avoided the anamoly in his translation: '*Le roi ami des dieux an regard amical ne croit pas que gloire on renommée apportent grand profit sauf qu'il désire en fait de gloire on renomée que maintenant et pour longtemps son peuple obeisse de l'obéissance à la Loi et se conforme à la pratique de la Loi.*' Trans: "The King—the friend of the gods with graceful look does not believe that glory or renown brings great profit except that he desires in fact the glory or renown that now and for long time his people obey the authority of the law and conform to the practice of the law."

6. I have given the translation of N. A. Gore, which occurs in his edition published from Bombay.

nannattha egeṇam Khīrāmalaeṇaṁ avasesaṁ phalvihiṁ paccakkhāmi/
24.

"Excepting one kind of viz. the milky pulp of Āmalaka fruit I renounce the use of every other kind of fruit."

nannattha sayapāga-sahassapāgehiṁ avasesaṁ abhaṅgaṇa vihim paccakkhāmi /25.

"Excepting oil of one hundred or one thousand ingredients I renounce the use of every other kind of unguents."

nannattha egeṇaṁ surahiṇā gaṁdhavaṭṭaeṇaṁ avasesaṁ uvvaṭṭaṇa-vihiṁ paccakkhāmi /26.

"Excepting one kind viz. a sented wheat flour I renounce the use of every other kind of powders."

nannattha egeṇaṁ khomajualenaṁ[7] *avasesaṁ vatthavihiṁ paccak-khāmi* /28

Excepting one kind viz. a pair of silken clothes, I renounce the use of clothes.

There are many sentences of this nature here. As we have shown before *nannattha* stands for *na anyatra*. One should note here that *annattha* is here a preposition, as it occurred exactly in the Aśokan inscriptions. As in the latter here too it governs the instrumental, which is known definitely from the expressions *alla-laṭṭhī-mahueṇaṁ, khīrāamalakeṇam, tellehiṁ, gaṁdhavaṭṭaeṇaṁ* and *khomajualeṇaṁ,* all of which possess the terminations of the instrumental case. As such it is clear that the use of *anyatra* a preposition governing an instrumental which we note in the Aśokan edicts, has occurred in this Jaina cannonical text too and there is perfect agreement in the application between the two works.

It is interesting to note that this usage, which was a common phenomenon in the Middle Indo-Aryan texts, has not left any trace in Sanskrit. At least we do not get any evidence that the word *anyatra* has left its adverbial character and emerged as a preposition—far less to speak of the phenomenon of its governing the instrumental case. Though no definite reason for the absence of the feature in Sanskrit can be found out, some kind of assumption

7. The translator translated the expression as 'a pair of cotton clothes' but we have put 'silken' as a substitute of 'cotton' since *Khoma* (Kṣauma) signifies the silk cloth and not the cotton one.

can be made to explain the same. This usage, which is common in M I A, might have come from an earlier speech—its predecessor. If might be the spoken Sanskrit, where the usage was prevalent; but when Sanskrit was given a definite shape the uncommon elements, though current as feature of the spoken tongue, did not find any place in the coined literary language. In this way the usage might have been ignored by the scholars, who engaged themselves in the cultivation of Sanskrit. But it served as a living idiom in Prākṛt and as the Prākṛt texts are very close to the spoken idioms they preserved it, for which we find in the mentioned texts.

Another feature may also be taken into consideration here. The instrumental case is very close to the ablative in point of significance and the difference was not perhaps rigidly maintained always —particularly in the spoken tongues. This is definitely known as from the fact that in Pāli the inst. pl. forms occupy the place of the abl. pl. and in Pkt. this phenomenon particularly happens, since the abl. pl. ending—*hiṃto* of Pkt. comes from the inst. pl. -*hiṁ* (< -bhis) + *to* (<*tas*).[8] As this distinction between the inst. and abl. was not carefully maintained always, the cultivators of Sanskrit while preserving the use of the abl. case in connection with the word *anya* indicating distinction, ignored the phenomenon of its or of any of its derivatives' governing the instrumental, which was nevertheless current in the spoken dialects. This might be the reason for the absence of the latter in Sanskrit, though Prākṛt bears definite evidence for its common use.

Even if we leave the controversial matter we are definite about our main proposition, namely that the word *anyatra* (a derivative of *anya*) which is originally adverbial in character, appears in the role of a preposition in middle Indo-Aryan and the same governs the instrumental case instead of the ablative, which is traditionally known to us from Skt. The Aśokan inscriptions and the cannonical text *uvāsagadasāo* bear unmistakable evidence for this use in pkt. and on the basis of the frequent appearance of the feature in the two texts—one composed in inscriptionl pkt. and the other in Amg. the occurrence of the same as the common practice in MIA may be quite reasonably presumed.

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8. The other case—termination for the abl. pl. is -*suṁto* which comes from the loc-ending -*su*, to which the suffix -*to* has been added. The nasal *ṁ* in the ending is euphonic. The occurrence of -*suṁto* side by side with -*hiṁto* urges one to asume the partial agreement in Pkt. but the agreement is perfect in Pālī, where the abl. pl. takes only inst. pl. forms.

PHONOLOGY OF A DACCA DIALECT

By ANIMESH K. PAL*

District of Dacca now in East Pakistan consists of four administrative sub-divisions, viz. Dacca Sadar, Narayangunje, Munshigunje and Manikgunje. A brief dialect survey of this district undertaken by me in the summer of 1960 revealed the existence of at least four different dialects of Bengali. Both Professors S. K. Chatterji and Sukumar Sen included the Bengali dialects of Dacca under the heading of Vanga or Bangali or Eastern Bengali.[1] Being born and brought up in this district I am still a speaker of one of these four dialects. The subject of study of the present paper is the dialect of which I am a native speaker and which is spoken roughly around the sub-divisions of Narayangunje and Dacca Sadar in between the Meghnā and Śītalakṣyā rivers.

THE SPEECH SOUNDS AND THEIR SIGNS

Consonants :

1. Velar unvoiced stop–*k*.
2. Velar voiced stop–*g*.
3. Dental unvoiced stop–*t*.
4. Dental voiced stop–*d*.
5. Cerebral or retroflex unvoiced stop–*T*.
6. Cerebral voiced stop–*D*.
7. Bi-labial unvoiced stop–*p*.
8. Bi-labial voiced stop–*b*.
9. Velar nasal–*N*.

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* Lecturer in Bengali, Midnapore College.

1. *Origin and Development of Bengali Language* by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Vol. 1, page 140–*table of the Bengali dialects*. and *Bhāṣār Itibṛtta* by Prof. Sukumar Sen, page 104, 4th edition.

10. Alveolar nasal—*n*.
11. Bi-labial nasal—*m*.
12. Dental unvoiced affricate—*C*.
13. Alveolar fricative—*z*.
14. Dental fricative—*s*.
15. Alveo-palatal fricative—*S*.
16. Glottal fricative—*H*.
17. Alveolar lateral—*l*.
18. Alveolar flapped—*r*.
19. Velar unvoiced aspirated stop—*kh*.
20. Dental unvoiced aspirated stop—*th*.
21. Cerebral or retroflex unvoiced aspirated stop—*Th*.
22. Bi-labial unvoiced aspirated fricative—*F*.

Consonantal allophones:

23. Guttural unvoiced fricative—*x*.
24. Labio-dental fricative—*f*.
25. Alveo-palatal unvoiced affricate—*c*.
26. Alveo-palatal voiced affricate—*j*.
27. Alveo-palatal unvoiced aspirated affricate—*ch*.

Vowels :

28. Bi-labial closed—*u*.
29. Bi-labial half closed—*o*.
30. Bi-labial half open—*O*.
31. Frontal half open—*A*.
32. Frontal half closed—*E*.
33. Frontal closed—*i*.
34. Central open—*a*.

Vowel allophones:

35. Back half closed—*ó*.

36. Frontal open—*á*.

Semi-vowel:

37. Palatal semi-vowel—*e*.

Apart from these thirty-seven sounds a rising tone is also observed in this dialect which will be indicated by a capital *V*.

Examinations of the above listed thirty-seven speech sounds revealed that some of them did not occur in all positions and that with the change of its positions in a given word certain changes might take place in a given phoneme. These are nothing but phonemic mutations under certain specific phonetic conditions. These phonemic mutations if properly observed may reveal a number of rules or principles guiding the processess of mutations. In the present paper I propose to study the behaviour of a number of speech sounds under different phonetic conditions.

MUTATIONS OF THE VOWELS

Of the nine vowel sounds found in this dialect the two allophones *ó* and *á* do not occur in all conditions. The half closed back vowel *ó* occurs only in the proximity of *i* and *u*. It never occurs in the proximity of *a, O* and *A*. We can observe a few words to understand the phenomenon. *kO* meaning to speak in the present indefinite form corresponding to first person singular *ami* will be (*ami*) *kói*. On the other hand when it corresponds to third person singular *HAe,* it changes to (*HAe*) *kOe. dVOr* meaning 'to catch' is another such verb root which when added to the verbal inflexion—*i* becomes *dVóri*. The root pOr meaning to fall when added to the verbal inflexion—*uk* becomes *póruk*. So, it is clear that the allophone *ó* in such cases is the result of the mutation of another phone *O* under the influence of either of the two front vowels *i* and *u*. (1) The rule here being *O* :—*ó* under the influence of *i* or *u,* this can be called a case of vowel harmony. Now we may enquire whether there are other instances of vowel harmony in this dialect. The following pairs of words formed from the same root may throw some light in this respect. *bADa* = fellow (masculine) becomes *bEDi* = fellow (feminine) because of the replacement of *a* which is the ter-

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minal suffix for the masculine gender by *i*, the suffix for the feminine. Similarly, *sAra* = boy becomes *sEri* = girl in the feminine gender *pAT* means abdomen but slice of abdomen (in case of fish) in *pEDi*. So, this is also a case of vowel harmony, the rule here being (2) *A*–E under the influence of final *i*. Then *SondOr* = beautiful when changed into masculine gender becomes *Sundóirá* (*arE ó Sundóriá naeEr mazVi* = Oh ! the beautiful boatman). Here we find *o* :—*u* evidently under the influence of the following *ó* and *i*. When the very root *tho* = to put takes the verbal inflexion —*o* the formation is *thoeo* and when it takes the verbal inflexion —*e* the formation is *thoe* but when it takes the verbal influexion—*i* the formation is *thui*. Similarly, *do* = to milk becomes *doeo, doe,* and *duVi*. So the rule here is (3) *o* :—*u* under the influence of the following *i*. The verb *nE* = to take with the verbal inflexion—*i* becomes *nEi*, with—*uk* becomes *nEuk* but with *o* becomes *nAo* and with—*e* becomes *nAe*. The same will happen to the verb root *dE* = to give. So the rule here is (4) *E* or *A* under the influence of the following *o* or *e*. The remaining three vowels viz. *a, u* and *i* are immune to any kind of phonetic influence resulting in vowel harmony.

Now we have to consider the special circumstances in which the allophone *á* occurs in this dialect. As we have observed elsewhere (2) the frontal open vowel *á* occurs only in the final positions of some special types of words. These words are mostly adjectives and verbs of the non-finite form and also informal vocative forms of the names of familiar and junior persons. But their speciality does not lie in the fact of their being adjectives or verbs of the non-finite forms or personal names, instead, the speciality of these words lie in the combination of the vowel sounds found in them. The words which have *á* in the final positions must have either of the following seven diphthongs in their penultimate syllables :

1. *ui* as in *khuillá*=having opened.
2. *ói* as in *saVgóillá*=goaty.
3. *ai* as in *kaiTTá*=having cut.
4. *Ei* as in *lEikkhá*=having written,

2. "Phonemes of a Dacca dialect of Eastern Bengali and the Importance of Tone" by Animesh K. Pal, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII, Nos. 1 and 2, 1965, Pages 39—48.

5. *au* as in *maucchá*=fishy or fish monger.

6. *óu* as in *móunná*=informal vocative form of the personal name *mónu*.

7. *Eu* as in *kEuccá*=earth worm. The first thing to be noticed in these words is the articulation of the diphthongs in the penultimate syllables. Both the components of these diphthongs are not equally articulated. In the first four diphthongs of the given list the first component is more articulated than the second one which is but slightly articulated. Sometimes it is almost imperceptible because of slurring. But nevertheless the second component is actually articulated. In the last three diphthongs the second component is *u* whereas in the first four diphthongs the second component is *i*. In the last three diphthongs *u* is less articulated than *i* which is more or less clearly articulated. The second point to be noted here is the relation between the phenomena of slight or weaker articulation of the second components *i* and *u* and the occurrence of the frontal open vowel *á* in the final positions. Are these two really connected with each other? Yes, they are interconnected. In whichever word we find *á* we find it in the final position and one of those seven diphthongs occurs in the penultimate syllable and the first components of the diphthongs are more articulated than the second ones. It is quite logical to assume that the peculiar articulation of these diphthongs and the occurence of *á* in the final position is interrelated and that the weaker articulation of *i* and *u* in the penultimate syllable is responsible for the occurence of the allophone *á* which does not occur under any other circumstances.

In order to understand this particular phenomenon we have to consider two things more elaborately, viz. the real nature of *á* and why *i* and *u* are weakly articulated and how much these two sounds are articulated under this special circumstances. Now, what is *á*? It is an open frontal vowel belonging to the *a* phoneme which is but an open central vowel sound. *a* is the stable sound whereas *á* occurs in a few special cases only. We have previously observed while considering the various instances of vowel harmony that under normal circumstances *a* is immune to any kind of phonetic influence resulting in vowel harmony. But here is a case where *á*, an unstable open frontal vowel sound occurs in the proximity of *i* and *u* both of which are frontal vowel themselves. While considering the instances of vowel harmony we have also observed that *O* :—*ó*

under the influence of *i* and *u*. In the present case we have already observed that both *i* and *u* themselves are affected. As the second components of the seven diphthongs listed earlier, they are less articulated than the first components. Now, if *a* has become *á* under the influence of *i* or *u* and if in the process *i* or *u* is weakly articulated then this is a case of affecting each other mutually. It should also be noted here that in the context of vowel harmony all the three sounds—*a, u, i* were found to be immune to any kind of phonetic change resulting in vowel harmony.

The vocative case ending used in this dialect for the names of the familiar and junior persons is—*a* as is evident from the fact that *ram* becomes *rama* in the vocative case. Now let us take two other personal names—*móni* and *mónu*. In the vocative case these are found as *móinná* and *móunná*. *móni* plus *a* should *have* resulted in *mónia* and likewise *mónu* plus *u* :—*mónua*. In fact, identical formations do really occur in some Bihari and Eastern Hindi dialects. Any way, it may be assũmed that in this case *mónia* has become *móiná* and *mónua* has become *móunná*. So it may be further assumed that *i* and *u* have changed their positions, i.e. both of them are after *n* in the original words but in the vocative formations both of them are before *n*. One could call this phenomenon a simple case of vowel metathesis. But the case is evidently not so because of the fact that (1) in the process the consonant *n* has been doubled and that (2) the vocative case ending—*a* has been changed to -*á*.Can we call it a case of epenthesis? There is at least one objection to that proposition. For being a clear case of epenthesis *mónia** should have become *móinia** and *mónua** should have become **móunua;* instead, they have become *móinná* and *móunná* respectively. Let us now consider the two hypothetical epenthetic formations *móinia** and *móunua**. There are three syllables in each of these words, viz. mói—ni—a and móu-nu—a. In actual speech the first component of the diphthong *óu* or *ói* will be more articulated and the second component *i* or *u* will be less articulated. Then because of the general preference for bi-morism among the entire Bengali-speech-community there will be an attempt to lump *nia* or *nua* together. The result will be the twin phenomena of the doubling of *n* and the partial compensation of the partial loss of the original *i* or *u* by an open frontal vowel *á* derived from the original open central vowel *a*. Thus one may assume that *móinná* or *móunná* is rather a case of epenthesis. But still there may be objections to this proposition as the preference for bi-morism in the dialect under

examination has not yet been established as a fact and the emergence of the doubled *n* is not yet fully explained. So, we shall tackle the problem from another angle. The original formation is *móni* plus *a* or *mónu* plus *a*. In the resultant formation the original *i* or *u* is lost partially but the open central *a* becomes open frontal *á*. The partial loss to *i* and *u* is then compensated by the open vowel in the final position as their frontal characteristics is taken up by the open vowel which in the process becomes an open frontal vowel. Thus this may be described as an instance of an additional vowel shifting which in other words is but epenthesis. The consonant *n* in the middle of this additional vowel shifting and the partial loss of the original vowel plays a somewhat compensatory role by being doubled. The newly formed open frontal vowel is also responsible for this new development in the consonant.

Now we shall examine a non-finite verb form to observe the previously discussed phenomenon further. There is a non-finite verbal suffix *-ia* as is evident from the formation *khaia*=having eaten. where the verb root is *kha*=to eat. Although *kha* plus *ia* becomes simple *khaia, khel*=to play plus *ia* instead of becoming *khelia** becomes *kh-Eillá*. Evidently, *i* has changed its place, its original place being indicated by the appearence of an open frontal vowel. The consonant *l* has been doubled in the process of the additional shifting of *i* and by the influence of the newly formed open frontal vowel in the final position. Lastly, we must also examine the adjective formations resulting in identical combinations of the speech sounds. We have such adjective formations as *zaullá*=fisherman (one who uses a net) from the noun *zal*=net, *maucchá*=fishmonger from the noun *maVs*=fish; *gaucchá*=tree climber from the noun *gaVs*=tree. From the above mentioned adjective formations and also from such words as *laua*=gourd like formed from the noun *lau*= gourd; *gaVua*=one with septic wounds formed from the noun *gaVo*= septic wound and *khaua*=one who is a voracious eater formed from the verb root *kha*=to eat, it seems almost certain that the suffix used here for making adjectives is *-ua*. From such adjective as *maiTTá*= earthen formed from the noun *maDi*=earth; *Hiailiá*=foxy formed from the noun *Hial*=fox or jackal; *saVgóillá*=goaty formed from the noun *saVgO*1=goat, it seems almost certain that the suffix used here for making adjectives is *-ia*. Now again, we come across the phenomenon of an open frontal vowel *á* in the final position together with the appearance of a doubled consonant which indicates an additional vowel shifting taking place in the words cited here. Making

careful observations I have come to the conclusion that the second components of the diphthongs i.e. *u* and *i* being very weak and one of the two similar consonants being weakly articulated this phenomenon of additional vowel shifting within a word cannot be called a full scale epenthesis but it is very much epenthetic in nature. Occurences of such words as *rait*=night, *zait*=race or caste, *HauVd*= honest man (*CorEr dOS din HauVdEr Ak din*=A thief may have ten days but the honest man will have at least one day in this dialect and the occurences in the high literary Bengali with a pan-Bengali currency of such words as *rati, jāti* and *sādhu* having the same meaning may be an indication to the vowel shifting within a word which in other words is metathesis of vowels. But the change of place of vowels within a word is not generally observed in this dialect.

Only in a few cases *i* changes its place, i.e. it is shifted from the final position to an intervocalic one. For a clearer understanding of this phenomenon it is necessary to examine a few typical verbal formations such as *uraia* and *poraia*. The first one is formed from the causative verb root *ura*=to cause something to fly plus non-finite verbal suffix *-ia*. (*badam uraia dE ó mazVi baVi*=Oh boatman brother! set up your sails). But when an identical non-finite verb is formed the verb root or the resultant formation is *uira*. The following may be an apparent explanation of such a formation *or* plus *ia* :— **uria* :—*uira* because of the shifting of *i* from the penultimate to the ante—penultimate position. Similarly, *pora*=to cause something to burn plus *ia* :—*poraia* but *por*=to burn plus *ia* :—*puira*. We could have accepted these formations as regular instances of vowel metathesis but such formations are scarce and the shifting of *i* from the penultimate to the ante-penultimate position takes place only in those words where *-r-* is involved. The instances of the near epenthetic formations which we have examined earlier are not involved with *-r-* because the doubling or gemination of *-r-* is almost impossible in such cases. The metathetic formation which we have considered here hypothetically may as well be connected with the near epenthetic formations. The following table of non-finite verbal formations with the terminal suffix *ia* undoubtedly supports the last assumption. The listed verb roots are all from the dialect under investigation.

1. *Dak*=to call plus *ia* :—*Dakia* (Literary Bengali) =having called :—*Daikká* (Dacca *Dialect*).

2. *maVk*=to rub plus *ia* :—*makhia* (L.B.) =having rubbed :— *maikkhá* (D.D.).

3. *lag*=to attach plus *ia* :–*lagia* (L.B.) =having attached, for :– *laiggá* (D.D.).

4. *kaC*=to wash plus *ia* :–*kacia* (L.B.)=having washed :– *kaiccá* (D.D.).

5. *moVs*=to wipe plus *ia* :–*muchia* (L.B.) =having wiped :– *muicchá* (D.D.).

6. *Haz*=to dress up plus *ia* :–*Sajia* (L.B.) =having dresed up :– *Haijjá* (D.D.).

7. *boVz*=to understand plus *ia* :–*bujhia* (L.B.)=having understood :–*buijjá* (D.D.).

8. *loT*=to plunder plus *ia* :–*luTia* (L.B.) =having plundered :–*luiTTá* (D.D.).

9. *mot*=to urinate plus *ia* :–*mutia* (L.B.*–rather a crude and uncultured usage)=having urinated :–*muittá* (D.D.).

10. *Had*=to beseech plus *ia* :–*Sadhia* (L.B.)=having beseeched –*Haiddá* (D.D.).

11. *kand*=to cry plus *ia* :–*kãdia* (L.B.)=having cried –*kaindá* (D.D.).

12. *baVn*=to tie up plus *ia* :–*bãdhia* (L.B.)=having tied up :– *bainddáV* (D.D.).

13. *kaf*=to tremble plus *ia* :–*kãpia* (L.B.) =having *trembled* :– *puira* (D.D.).

14. *Dub*=to drown or to dip plus *ia* :–*Dubia* (L.B.) =having drowned or dipped :–*Duibbá* (D.D.).

15. *nam*=to get down plus *ia* :–*namia* (L.B.)=having got down :–*naimmá* (D.D.).

16. *por*=to burn plus *ia* :–*puria* (L.B.) =having burnt :– *puria* (D.D.).

17. *khEl*=to play plus *ia* :–*khElia* (L.B.)=having played :– *khEillá* (D.D.).

18. *gOVS*=to rub plus *ia* :–*ghOSia* (L.B.) =having rubbed :– *gOViSSá* (D.D.).

19. *kO*=to speak plus *ia* :–*kOHia* (L.B.) =having spoken :– *kóia* (D.D.).

20. *kha*=to eat plus *ia* :—*khaia* (L.B.)=having eaten :—*khaia* (D.D.).

21. *za*=**gi* (hypothetical stem) =to go plus *ia* :—*gia* (L.B.) = having gone :—*gia* (D.D.).

22. *dE*=to give plus *ia* :—*dia* (L.B.) =having given :—*dia* (D.D.).

23. *Fo*=to lie down plus *ia* :—*Suia*=having lain down :—Fuia (D.D.).

In addition to the *-ia* formations it is interesting to note what happens to the formations with the terminal suffix *-ua*. In such words as *kaua*=crow, *khaua*=a voracious eater, *gaVua*=some one having a septic wound, *laua*=something with a shape like gourd or pumpkin, *paua*=treasure find, we come accross *-ua* ending but this may not be the terminal suffix *-ua* in all the cases. *lau* plus *ua*=*laua* may be taken as a formative model of this type. *gaVo*=wound plus *ua* :—*gaVua* and similarly *pa*=to get plus *ua* :—*paua* or *kha*=to eat plus *ua* :—*khaua, bao*=left plus *ua* :—*baua* clearly supports the formative model. But on the other hand *ua* ending found in such words as *kaua*=crow, *raua*=greedy or some one with an avarice for food, may not be the terminal suffix *-ua*. However, the *-ua* formations do not indicate any kind of vowel shifting within a word.

The modifications and mutations undergone by the vowels *O, a, o, E, u* and *i* have been analysed and examined and the special circumstances under which *ó, á* and *A* occur have also been observed. Now it is necessary to look into the behaviour of the consonants. Our investigations[3] have revealed that some of the consonants do not occur in all the positions in a word. A particular phoneme may be found in the final position of a word and this word when takes up an affix that particular phoneme is then no more in the final position. If this shifting of position within a word affects that phoneme in any way then it is of utmost importance to us. Ours being a descriptive study and as we do not have enough historical data regarding this dialect we have to depend more on such informations for building up a phonological structure of the dialect we are presently studying. We shall now consider each one of the consonants which do not occur in all the positions.

3. Ibid.

Unvoiced velar stop *k* may occur finally as in *Cóuk*=eye. But if we add instrumental case inflexion *-E* the resultant formation will not be *CóukE**. It will be *CóuxE, x* being a guttural unvoiced fricative (1) The rule here is *k* :—*x* in intervocalic positions. Unvoiced cerebral stop *T* is found in the final positions as in the word *pAT*=stomach. If genitive case inflexion *-Ar* is added to the word *pAT* then the resultant formation will be *pADAr*. This is an indication of the fact that unvoiced cerebral stop *T* becomes voiced cerebral stop *D*, (2) the rule here being *T* :—*D* in intervocalic positions. Bi-labial unvoiced stop *p* occurs finally in such words as *bap*= father. If genitive case inflexion Ar is added to that word the resultant formation will be *bafAr*. This is an indication of the fact that unvoiced bi-labial stop *p* becomes labio-dental fricative *f*. (3) The rule here is *p* :—*f* in intervocalic positions. Of the three rules the first and the third rule here is nothing but distinct spirantization and the second one is a simple case of voicing. As *k, T* and *p* do not generally occur in the intervocalic positions it is rather easy to detect the three above mentioned rules in the phonology of the dialect.

For detecting the other rules we have to observe the behaviour of the consonantal allophones which are altogether five in number. Of these five we have already observed two, viz. the guttural unvoiced fricative *x* and the labio-dental unvoiced fricative *f*. The remaining three viz. (a) alveopalatal unvoiced affricate *c*, (b) alveopalatal voiced affricate *j* and (c) alveopalatal unvoiced aspirated affricate *ch* should now be considered. These three consonantal allophones never occur singly. Whenever they occur in a word they occur only in intervocalic positions and being doubled or geminated. The alve-opalatal unvoiced aspirated affricate *ch* is not actually geminated, it is clustered with the alveopalatal unvoiced affricate *c*. In this contex it is necessary to note that several other consonants are also geminated when they occur in intervocalic positions. These are :—1. *k*, 2. *T*, 3. *p*, The velar unvoiced aspirated stop *kh* also occurs intervocally being clustered with *k*. In addition on to these consonants 1. *g*, 2. *t*, 3. *d*, 4. *n*, 5. *b*, 6. *m*, 7. l, and 8. *S*. also occur in geminated form in the intervocalic positions. However, first we shall consider the three allophones *c, ch, j*. The table of the non-finite verbal formations with the terminal suffix *-is* given earlier includes four formations where these three consonantal sounds are involved. These are *kaiccá, muicchá, Haijjá, buijjá*. It is interesting to note that in *kaiccá* the root is *kaC* and the suffix is *-ia*. Similarly, we find *moVs, Haz* and *boVz* in three remaining forma-

tions. In the four given near epenthetic formations the rules are (4) *C* :—*cc*, (5) *s* :—*cch* and (6) *z* :—*jj*. How can one account for such developments? Here at least, two fathers are concerned, viz. gemination and mutation of the consonants, i.e. alveo-palatalization of the dental affricate, affricatization of the dental unvoiced and the voiced fricatives. This tendency is contrary to the general tendency of spirantization which is apparent from the number of fricatives found in this dialect, (in all seven, viz. *z, s, S, H, F, x* and *f*) and from the fact that except the dental affricate *C* affricates are normally absent in this dialect. The other eight consonants, *g, t, d, n, b, m,* l and *S* occur singly in intervocalic positions but these are also found in geminated forms in the intervocalic positions. These do not indicate any kind of mutation on the part of the consonants. In this context it is to be noted that certain words of literary Bengali containing intervocalic single consonants when used in this dialect show geminated consonants in place of the single consonants such as *bãka* (L.B.) :—bAkka (D.D.) =crude, *bati* (L.B.) .—*batti* (D.D.) =lamp, Hati (L.B.) :—*aVtt* (D.D.) =elephant, *lathi* (L.B.) :—*latti* (D.D.) = kick, guli (L.B) :—*gulli* (D.D.) —bullet. Only *th* :—*tt* seems to be a compensation to the loss of aspiration. In other cases reason for gemination is hard to explain.

Of all the consonant sounds used in this dialect *k, T, p* and *S* are most succeptible to mutation. We have analysed the behaviours of the first three sounds earlier. Some words of literary Bengali which have *S* in the initial and *k* in the following positions when used in this dialect show that S :—*H* and *k* :—*g* such as *SOkOl* (*L.B.*) s—*HIgOl* (D.D.) =all, *Sak* (L.B.) :—*Hag* (D.D.) =edible green leaves, etc The initial alveo-palatal sibilant of the literary Bengali generally changes to *H* in this dialect as is evident from such words—*S=la* (*L.B.*) :—*HOla* (D.D.) —narrow stick, *SĀola* (L.B.) :—*HAola* (D.D.) =water-weed, *Sap* (L.B.) :—*Hap* (D.D.) =snake, *Sial* (L.B.) :—*Hial* (D.D.) =jackal, *SuOr* (L.B.) :—*HuOr* (D.D.) =pig, *SE* (L.B.) :—*HAe* (D.D.) =he, *Sona* (L.B.) :—*Hona* (D.D.) =hearing. However, the intervocalic *S* of the literary Bengali remains unchanged in the dialect as in *SESE* (L.B.) —*HASA* (D.D.) =in the end, *baSa* (D.D.) =rented house, bird's nest. But in a few words the mutation of the initial *S* of the L.B. is rather erratic. In *So* (L.B.) :—*Fo* (D.D.) =to sleep, *S* :—*F,* in *Sola* (L.B.) :—*Fola* as well as *Hola* (D.D.) =dry and unskinned wood of jute, *S* :—*F* as well as *H,* in *SikOl* (L.B.) :—*SikOl* (D.D.) =chain, *S*:—*s*. The *c* and *j* of the literary Bengali become *C* and *z* respectively in this dialect such as

in *cakOr* (L.B.) :—*CaxOr* (D.D.) =servant, *bhaja* (L.B.) :—*baVza* (D.D.) =fry, etc. The nasalized vowels of the literary Bengali are generally completely denasalized without any trace of the nasal element such as in *HãS* (L.B.) :—*aVS* (D.D.) =duck, *pãc* (L.B.) :—*pas* (D.D.) =five, etc. But in a few cases after the denasalization an alveolar nasal *n* is brought in as is evident from *cãdEr* (L.B.) :—*CandAr* (D.D.) =of the moon, *kãdE* (L.B.) :—*kandA* (D.D.) =cries (3rd per. sing.), etc.

No voiced aspirates occur in this dialect. The unvoiced aspirated stops *kh, th* and *Th* however, are found only in initial positions. The bi-labial unvoiced aspirated fricative *F* occurs in all the positions. *kh* occurs only in a few words in the intervocalic position but not singly. In a word like *kharakkhara*=instanteneously we come across *kh* first in the initial position and then in the intervocalic position being clustered with *k*. The voiced and the unvoiced aspirated stops of the literary Bengali except *kh, th, Th* in the initial positions is disaspirated and the disaspiration is compensated with a rising tone on the immediate vowel.[4] The bi-la-bial unvoiced aspirated stop *ph* of the literary Bengali becomes F in this dialect.

Key to the signs used :

=for meaning, —: for coming from, :— for becoming, for nasal **vowel,** ∠ for reference, * for hypothetical formation.

4. Ibid.

A HISTORICAL STUDY OF CAARPEḶUTTU IN TAMIL GRAMMARS AND THEIR COMMENTARIES

By C. R. Sankaran* and R. M. Sundaram*

1. In this paper we attempt to present a historical study of Ca : rpḷuttu in Tamil. Materials on which our present study is based were collected from the following sources :

1. Tolka : ppiyam.
2. Tolka : ppiyam, eluttatika : rakkurippu—P. S. Subramania Sastri.
3. Vi : raco : ḷiyam—microfilm.
4. Nannu : l.
5. Nannu : l, Caṅkaranamacciva : yar (CN.) commentary.
6. Nannu : l, Civanja : namunivar (CM.) Viruttiyurai.
7. History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil, P. S. S. Sastri.
8. Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages, Caldwell.
9. Phonemics of old Tamil, C. R. Sankaran.
10. On a : ytam, C. R. Sankaran, Tamil Culture, Vol. 9. No. 1. 1961.
11. Review of Dravidian Etymological dictionary, Bh. Krishnamurthy, Language 39.
12. Phonemes of purana : nu : ru—A reconstruction—V. I. Subramoniam—mimeographed.

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* Phonetics Laboratory, Deccan College, Poona-6.

* Department of Tamil, Thyagaraja College, Madurai-9.

13. Phonemic variations of kurriyalukaram in Tamil, M. Shanmugham Pillai—Indian Linguistics, Reprinted edition, Vol. III.

This study is incomplete because the following books were not accessible to us :

1. Ne : mina : tham.
2. Pirayo : kavive : kam.
3. Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam.
4. Ilakaṇakkottu.
5. Ya : pparuṅkalam.
6. Ya : pparunkalakkarikai.
7. Tonnul viḷakkam.
8. Commentaries on these works.

References from these books found in this paper were taken from P.S.S. Sastri's "History". The information from these books that we failed to get at present will be, we hope, presented in great detail not at a distant future. We have included here the modern discussions on Ca:rpeḷuttu to make the history up-to-date.

2.0. mutal eḷuttu (primary sounds) and Ca : rpeḷuttu (dependent sounds).

2.1. Tolka : ppiyar enumerates 30 primary sounds beginning from 'a' and classifies them into two classes, viz. vowels and consonants.[1] The author of Vi : raco : ḷiyam accepts this classification and places a : ytam between vowels and consonants.[2] The placement of a : ytam between these two classes of sounds and the absence of a : ytam in the list of Ca : rpeḷuttu led P. S. Sastri to state that, according to Vi : raco : ḷiyam, the primary sounds in Tamil are 31.[3] But the sūtra does not clearly mention that Tamil—primary sounds are

1. *Tolka:ppiyam,* sūtra 1, 8 and 9—Śaiva Siddhānta Works Publishing. Madras, 1954.

2. *Vi : racoḷilam,* s. l. microfilm, Deccan College, Poona.

3. P. S. S. Sastri, *History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil,* Madras, p. 11.

31, as Se : mina : tham does.[4] The placement of a : ytam between vowels and consonants in the alphabet may be due to the writing system of Tamil prevailing in the age of the author of Vi : raco :-ḷiyam. "Other grammarians repeat the opinion of Tolkāppiyar".[5]

2.2. *Ca : repeḷuttu.*

According to Tolka : ppiyar, only 3 sounds are to be considered as Car : peḷuttu. They are Kurriya'ikaram (shorter–i), kurriyalukaram (shorter–u) and a : ytam.[6] Vi : raco : ḷiyam lists II. Iḷampu : raṇar 226, Ne : mina : tham 224, Nannu : l 369 and Iḷakkaṇa viḷakkam 240.[7]

They are given in the following chart :

Chart of Ca : repḷuttu

	Tol.	Vi:r.	Ne:m	Ilam/Nac.	Nan.	Ilak	CM.
k. ikaram	1	1	1	1	37	1	1
k. ukaram	1	1	1	1	36	1	1
a: ytam	1	..	..	1	8	1	1
uyirmey	..	..	216	216	216	216	..
uyiraḷapu	..	7	7	7	21	7	..
orralapu	..	..	16	..	42	11	..
ai. kurukkam	..	1	1	..	3	1	..
au. kurukkam	..	1	1	..	1	1	..
m. kurukkam	..	..	..	..	3	1	..
a : ytam kurukkam	..	..	1	..	2	..	..
Total	3	11	244	226	369	240	3

From this chart, it is evident that the later day grammarians as well as commentators not only do not differ from Tol. in numbering the Ca : repḷuttu but also have their own method to count them.

4. *Neminatham,* s. 1.

5. Sastri, p. 11.

6. *Tol.* s. 1, 2.

7. Sastri, p. 15, 16.

Whether this enumeration is based on any sound reason or not is to be investigated. We are treating all these sounds in different sections here.

2.3. Definition :

Tolka : ppiyar obviously appears to define Ca : rpeḷuttu as a sound which depends on the following or preceding sound for its pronunciation because it has no independent place of articulation. Nannu : la : r does not define a Ca : rpeḷuttu and it is clear too that he fails to understand the definition given by Tol.[8] According to Tol. the pronunciations of *ko ikaram* and *k. ukaram* and different from that of short *i* and *u*. But Nannu : la : r,[9] states that *k. ikaram* and *ukaram* are produced exactly at the same place where short *i* and *u* are produced.

2.4. To Mailaina : thar, one of the Commentators of *Nannu :-l*, the ca:rpeḷuttu is other than mutual eḷuttu because it is always used with another sound.[10] P.S.S. Sastri quotes a statement made by an old commentator of Nannu : l which means "a ca : rpeḷuttu is one which has undergone modification by one part of it combining another part or by being preceded or succeeded by another sound."[11] "*tammoṭu ta : m Carntum, iṭam ca : rntum, parruko : ṭu ca : rntum vika : ratta : l varutalin*"). The author of *Iḷakkaṇaviḷakkam* takes this definition without any alteration. CN. defines a ca : rpeḷuttu as a sound which is the modification of its mutual eḷuttu. "CM. entirely agrees with Tol."[12]

3.0. *Kurriyal-ikaram.*

3.1. *Tolka : ppiyar :*

k. ikaram which has ½ matra, occurs in two places. One of them is the expletive *miya* : in the words *ke : nmiya, ce : nmiya* : etc. where it occurs after /m/.[13] The other place is in sandhi, where

8. *Tol.* s. 101.

9. In sūtra No. 87.

10. Sastri, p. 12.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

13. *Tol.* s. 34.

this k. ikaram, before /Y/ reduces its matra.[14] The k. ikaram which we find in sandhi is a variation of k. ukaram. In other words, k.-ukaram changes into k. ikaram before /Y/ in sandhi and receives less matra. The pronunciation of this k. ikaram is varying according to its preceding sound; e.g. *na : ṭiya : tu, na : kiya : tu.* The pronunciation of '*i*' in the first set of examples is not the same as the pronunciation of the '*i*' in the second set of examples, the reason being the preceding sound. From Tol. sutra No. 2, it can be inferred that k. ikaram and ukaram had dots above their heads in writing to differentiate them from short *i* and *u*.[15]

3.2. Regarding the matra, place of articulation and the change of /*u*/ into /*i*/ before /*Y*/, vi : raco : ḷiyam fully agrees with Tol.[16] Sūtra 93 of Nannu : l, deals with k. ikaram. Both the /*i*/ which is the result of change of /*u*/ before /*Y*/ and the /*i*/ that occurs after /*m*/ in the expletive '*miya :*' are called k. ikaram. The place of articulation is the same as for the short *i*.[17] Having ½ matra, it occurs in 37 places.[17a] CN. explains these 37 places as follows: Since k. ukaram has 36 places, k. ikaram also has 36 because all the 36 k. ukaram before /*Y*/ in sandhi change into k. ikaram. The 37th occurrence of ikaram is found in *miya* :[17b]

3.3. P.S.S. Sastri thinks that "this k. ikaram may have been originally in the parent Dravidian languages as glide almost similar to /*u*/ and it may have been represented by /*i*/ wherever it was followed by the palatal semi-vowel /*Y*/."[18]

4.0. *kurriyalukaram.*

4.1. *Tolka : ppiyar :*

Having ½ matra, it occurs mostly finally after a stop. This stop is preceded by either at single long vowel, or vowels, or identical stop, or homorganic nasals or semi-vowels including laterals or a :-ytam.[19] For production it depends on the preceding stop which is

14. *Ibid.*, s. 35, 410.
15. Ibid, s. 105.
16. VII s. 5, 3.
17. *Nannu* : l, s. 87.
18. Sastri, p. 33.
19. *Tol.* s. 36, 406.

a "must."[20] Accordingly, it has six variants, i.e. the pronunciation of the k. ukaram after /*k*/ differs from the pronunciation of the k/ukaram after /*c*/ and so on. It can also occur initially [really it is medial] in the word *'nuntai'* where it fluctuates with short /*u*/. Sūtra 68 indicates that there is a difference of meaning when short /*u*/ is used instead of k. ukaram and that this difference is nullified in the word *'nuntai'*. Therefore, according to Tol. short /*u*/ and shorter /*u*/ (k. ukaram) are different phonemes so that different symbols are used in writing : Naccina : rkkiniyar, one of the commentators of Tol. cites few examples to demonstrate this contrast.[20a] e.g. *ka* : *tù=car*. *ka* : *tu*=kill, murder etc.

4.2. *Vi* : *raco* : *ḷiyam*.

k. ukaram has ½ matra which can further be reduced in sandhi before a word beginning with /*Y*/.[21] It occurs after all stops, each of which may be preceded by a sequence of sounds or by a single long vowel. The commentator adds a word *'i* : *rrile* :' which means 'final' to the word *'Vanmai'*, found in the *sūtra* and writes that if the /*u*/ occurs finally after stops, then it will become shorter and get the name k. ukaram. This k.ukaram can disappear before a vowel in sandhi.[22]

4.3. *Nannu* : *l*

According to S. 87, the places of articulation for k. ukaram and the short /*u*/ are the same. k. ukaram has ½ matra [s. 89]. As far as the occurrences of k. ukaram are concerned, nannu : l agrees with Tol. and Vii. Basing on the number of occurrences, pavananthiya : r, the author of *nannu* : *l*, states that there are 36 k. ukaram. He does not speak of word-initial k. ukaram. CM. agrees with Tol. in interpreting the /*u*/ in *'nuntai'* as a *k.ukaram*. From his commentary,[23] it seems that few grammarians consider the penultimate syllable, instead of the penultimate letter or phoneme as Tol., Vii and nannu : l have done to count the number of k. ukaram. According

20. *Ibid.*, s. 101.

21. vii. s. 3 and 5.

22. *Ibid.*, s. 21.

23. *Nan.* s. 94 CM. *virutti*.

to them, k. ukaram has seven places to occur. They can be put as follows :—

7. [C] vv—Cu /na :/ku, a :—ṭu/
2. [C] vvC—Cu /na : k — ku, ak : — ku/
3. [C] v—CV—Cu /Va — ra — ku/
4. [C] V—CVC—Cu /a — rak — ku/
5. [C] V—Cvv—Cu /a — co : — ku/
6. [C] V—CvvC—Cu /na — ma : k — ku/
7. [C] VC—Cu /ak — ku/

[C = Consonant; V=Vowel ; [. . . . . .]=optional unit] vv=a long vowel.

4.4. Names given by them to the k. ukaram of this classifications are:

1. neṭil—ki : l—kurriyal—ukaram,
2. neṭil—orrin—ki : l—kurriyalukaram,
3. kuril—iṇai—ki : l—kurriyal ukaram,
4. kuril—iṇai—orrin—ki : l—kurriyal—ukaram,
5. kuril—neṭil—ki : l—kurriyal—ukaram,
6. kuril—neṭil—orrin—ki : l—kurriyal—ukaram,
7. kurrorrin ki : l—kurriyal—ukaram.

The names given by *Tol.* and others are :—

neṭil toṭar kurriyal ukaram,

uyir—toṭar k. ukaram,

van—toṭar k. ukaram,

men—toṭar k. ukaram,

iṭai—toṭar k. ukaram,

a : ytaṭ—toṭar k. ukaram.

They can be roughly equated as follows :—

1. Neṭil toṭar	Neṭil ki :l
2. uyir toṭar	kuril iṇai–ki : l
	kuṛil neṭil–ki : ḷ
3. van toṭar	neṭil orru–ki : l
• men toṭar	kurilanai orrn-ki : l
itai toṭar	kuril-neṭil orru-ki : l
a : ytat toṭar	kurrorru kki : l

4.5. The final /u/ in the words like *piṇṇakku, cuṇṇāmpu, paṭṭānku viḷayya : tu, irumpūtu* etc. can be, according to this classification, called *neṭilorrinki : l k. ukaram* (1, 2, 3) and *neṭilki : l k. ukaram* (4, 5). Tol. Nan. may call them *vantoṭar, mentoṭar* (2, 3) and *neṭil toṭar.*

4.6. CM. rejects this type of classification as he feels that it fails to accommodate the words like po : vatu, varuvatu, onpatu, etc., in any of these classifications.

4.7. In external sandhi a k. ukaram may disappear before a vowel–beginning word (s. 164) or admit a consonantal addition or omission or change. Sūtra 185 states that mentoṭar k. ukaram will take an increment '*ai*' before a word starting with a stop. CN. gives an example to this, 'paṇṭaikka : lam' and states that '*ai*' occurs not only in external sandhi but also in internal sandhi, for example, *orrai, iraṭṭai.* Before /Y/ it changes into /i/ (s. 164). A short /u/ will also disappear in certain cases. Though Nan. does not speak of the shape of k.ukaram. CN. agrees with Tol and writes that it has a dot. He repudiates Ilampu : raṇar who interprets s. 105 of Tol. in a different way. M. Shanmugam Pillai has also the same view when he points out the misunderstanding of Ilampu : raṇar of this sūtra.[24]

4.8. Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, while discussing in his book the phonology of the language of Tolka : ppiyar, remarks : "These peculiar sounds, k.ukaram, k.ikaram . . . . are not

24. M. S. Pillai, *Indian Linguistics,* Reprinted Edition Vol. 3, p. 686.

phonemes. They are merely positional variants of the phonemes already discussed. Shorter *u* and *i*, when not mere releases, are allophones of *u* . . . ." and he equates the term Carrpeḷuttu with "allophones".[25] This equation requires further clarification Regarding the phonemic status of k.ukaram, there prevails a difference of opinion. For instance, M. S. Pillai, in his article, on "Kurriyalukaram", mentioned above, observes: "The final kurriyalukaram is a separate phoneme different from the close, rounded, back vowel–*u* whereas the initial kurriyalukaram is an allophone of the close, rounded back vowel–*u*". This explanation agrees with Tol's statement in S. 68. 'In modern Tamil there is the complete loss of this phoneme i.e. even the final kurriyalukaram has become an allophone".[26] Some dialects show a contrast between short /*u*/ and shorter /*u*/.[27]

5.0. *a : ytam.*

5.1. *Tolka : ppiyam :*

It occurs, in a word, between a short vowel and a stop followed by a vowel. (S. 38). Due to the following stop it gets different pronunciation. (s. 101). That is, the occurrence of a :ytam requires the necessary condition of a preceding vowel and the sufficient condition of a following stop. For the pronunciation of k.ikaram and k. ukaram the preceding stops are sufficient, while in the case of the a : ytam the following stop is sufficient. Āytam retains its ½ matra in sandhi. It also occurs in the words meaning 'shape', 'music' etc. and retains its ½ matra (s. 40). /*l*/ before /*t*/ and /*v*/ before /*t*/ change into a : ytam (S. 369, 379). In the word for 'ten', pattu, a :-ytam can be sustituted for the first /*t*/. Hence pa :tu (s. 390). According to s. 399. *a* /*ḷ*/ can change into a : ytam before /*t*/. From these sutras, it is obvious that Tol. considers a : ytam as a substitute for /*t, l, l, v*/ in sandhi. Sūtra 313 gives a clue to trace out the derivation of the word a : ytam and to find out the meaning. It says that 'aytal' means 'minuteness', or the minimum duration at the threshold of speech perception, i.e. 'difference–limen' (*uḷḷatan nuṇckkam*). The root *'ay of aytal'* may be the root of a : ytam

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25. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, *A History of Tamil Language*, Deccan College, Poona, p. 73.

26. M.S. Pillai, *Indian Linguistics*, p. 689.

27. *T. P. M.*, p. 205.

because it also has a minute sound (in our sense) which can not be pronounced independently.

5.2. While dealing with the phonetic quality and the phonemic status of a : ytam in the age of Tolka : ppiyar, Prof. T. P. M. states that a : ytam is a voiceless fricative and is an allophone of the long plosive.[28] After quoting a statement made by an old commentator, he writes that "a : ytam indicates that plosive following should be pronounced as a fricative."[29] This statement differs from that of Tolka : ppiyar who states that a : ytam is phonetically depending on its following stops, which can, mathematically be described as the sufficient condition. Then, can we say that once a :-ytam was pronounced according to its following stops and that, in later days, it fricativizes the following stop? Can we say that it leads into the wider problem of the influence of the neighbouring sounds of one another in the process of speech—a problem which needs a detailed investigation within the frame work of information theory? The assignment of a : ytam as an allophone of long plosive needs further investigation.

5.3. *Vi : raco : liyam.*

S.1. puts a : ytam between vowels and consonants. The commentator calls it taninilai or a : kenam. Another sutra states that a : ytam can occur after demonstratives and has ½ matra.

5.4. *Nannu : l*

Āytam is an open sound produced in the head.[30] Iḷakkaṇa Viḷakkam agrees with Nannu : l.[31] Sutra 90 of Nannu : l speaks of the distribution of a : ytam. This sutra is taken from Tol. so that there is no controversy regarding the distribution. Nannu : la : r classifies a : ytam into two : 1. full a : ytam or murra : ytam 2. short a : ytam or a : ytakkurukkam. Murra : ytam has eight occurrences and ½ matra. Āytamkkurukkam, having ¼ matra, occurs 2 places. CN. explains the places as follows:

28. *Ibid*, p. 73.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

30. *Nan*. s. 87.

31. *Iḷakkaṇaviḷakkam*, s. 13.

Murra : ytam occurs before six stops and in sandhi and in a place where a prosodical change is admissible.[32] The a : ytam which replaces /l, ḷ/ before /t/ in sandhi is called a : ytakkurukkam. Hence in two places /l, ḷ/ before /th/ become not only /r and ṭ/ respectively, but also become a : ytam (s. 228). According to s. 235, /v/ after demonstrative and interrogative bases changes into a : ytam: e.g. *av+katiya=a : katiya*. The first /t/ of pattu may change into a : ytam (s. 195). Hence, *l* : *ḷ=r*: ṭ=.: *v*=.˙.; *t*=.˙.. Here nan. fully agrees with Tol.

5.5. In the post-cankam period a : ytam becomes a syllabic sound.[33] In Perunkatai we have an a :ytam as a separate sound rhyming with /y/.[34] Another evidence from Ve : lvikkuḍigrant (No. 152) [25] shows that a : ytam is replaced by /y/ e.g. *iydeludi* from *i*.˙.*deludi*. In modern Tamil it is used to represent the English sound /f/. e.g. .: *prancu*, French.

5.6. Modern views :

5.7. Caldwell consider it as a letter, half-vowel-half-consonant corresponding in some respects to the Skt. visarga and states that it is pronounced like guttural h.[36]

5.8. P.S.S. sastri seems to equate this with Skt. Jihvāmūlīya and upadhmānīya.[37] He takes it as an arrested voiceless spirant and rejects Caldwell's 'guttural-like sound theory' and Nannu : la :-r's 'head-theory'. But the derivation of a : ytam from a : ytal invalidates his equations.

5.9. By applying the principle of 'phonemic overlapping' V.I. Subramoniam treats it as an allophone of /l, ḷ, v/ and by this assignment, he reduces the morpho-phonemic rules to certain extent.[38]

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32. *Nan.* s. 90 Commentary.

33. *T. P. M.*, p. 135.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

35. Sastri, p. 68.

36. Galdwell, *comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, Madras 1961, p. 130.

37. Sastri, p. 66.

38. V. I. Subramoniam, *Phonemes of puranānūru*, mimeographed copy.

5.10. We may state here the possibility of two broad based views regarding the intriguing question of a : ytam. One of them may be designated as the phenomenological and the other as the non-phenomenological. Bh. Krishnamurthy who obviously subscribes to the first view reconstructs a proto-dravidian laryngeal *H* and gives this value to a : ytam.[39] This *'H'*, he observes seems to have a sibilant colouring in certain correspondence; e.g. *Ta. ekku* 'to pull with finger' (as cotton), *Kui, e :spa* 'to pluck'.

5.11. The other view, non-phenomenological, has led to alpha-phoneme/phonoid theory. The theory of alpha-phoneme/phonoid which concerns with a speech continuum at motivational of what at the activational level would be acoustico-articulatory 'events' in any consonant-vowel configuration with the theoretical acoustico-articulatory time-interval of zero between the consonant and the vowel during actual utterance deals at a far deeper level with interesting questions, for instance, as the possibility of the articulatory-time differing from the acoustical-time.[40]

5.12. The a : ytam-phenomenon of which the a : ytam is particular case, is now viewed as a generalized phenomenon in human speech marking, at activational level, physically the transient stage between the consonant and the vowel, approximating to the mathematically constructed conceptual limit, at the motivational level, 'between' the consonant and the vowel in any consonant-vowel configuration.[41] In other words, the a : ytam-phenomenon for which

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39. Bh. Krishnamurthy, Review of D.E.D., Lang. 39.

40. C. R. Sankaran, *Phonemics of old Tamil,* Deccan College Monograph Series 7, 1951, p. 37.

41. C. R. Sankaran, *Phonemics of old Tamil,* p. 27.

(a) C. R. Sankaran and L. H. Strong: "A Critique of experimental techniques, methods and analyses in the study of structure in Speech." Deccan College Building Centenary and Jubilee Series 40, Poona, 1965; pp. 44-55.

See also C. R. Sankaran, *The determination of the ultimate 'Unit' of Speech, Phonetica* 14: 82—90 (1966).

Cf. also *"Alpha-Phonoid and Alpha-Phoneme"* (with N. K. Patil) Phonetica 17 : 15—23 (1967).

For a survey of the Alpha-Phoneme/Phonoid theory and the attempt towards the determination of its potential "use" and "importance" within the frame of linguistics, see M. Remmel's *"On the Alpha-Phonoid (Alpha-Phoneme) Theory,"* Terminologia Indica 1 : 52—66 (1967).

(b) C. R. Sankaran, *Process of Speech, Deccan College,* Poona 1963, pp. 6, 10. 12, 23—26, 36 and 53.

a : ytam as a speech-sound is a 'pointer', leads us to the determination of the Ultimate 'unit' of Speech[41a] in the speech process, beyond and more subtle than the very obvious 'phonetic-phonemic', level of linguistics, as it seems to us that Tolka : ppiyar treats a : ytam both as a speech-sound and as a phenomenon.

5.13. A clear-cut interpretation of the phrase 'pirappin a : kkam' used by Tol. in s. 83 as the composition of articulatory 'Unit' and accoustic 'Unit' into one being a : kkam and this composition bringing into existence a new entity—the phonemeis 'pirappu' will be helpful to an insightful understanding of this a : ytam phenomenon. Later day grammarians and commentators mistook 'pirappin a :-kkam for pirappitam. One may appreciate the author of Tolka :-ppiyam for the rare insight he has displayed in his work regarding the treatment of the old Tamil spoken in his time. One may also note that the alpha-phoneme/phonoid theory is substantiated by Tolka : ppiyar's phrase 'pirappin a : kkam' and by the placement of a : ytam by Vii., between vowels and consonants.

6.0. *uyirmey and other ca : rpeḷuttu.*

6.0. Nannu : la : r treats uyirmey, uyiraḷapeṭai, orraḷapeṭai, ai, au and ma kurrukkañkaḷ and a : ytakkurukkam as Ca : rpḷuttu. Ilampu : raṇar, Naccinarkiniyar and the author of Ilakkaṇa viḷakkam follow him in the treatment of uyirmey as Ca : rpeḷuttu. CM. critically remarks that there is no purpose served by taking uyirmey as ca : rpeḷuttu, that uyiraḷapeṭai is only a short vowel added to the previous long vowel to lengthen its mātra, that orraḷapeṭai is only a consonant that is added for the sake of lengthening the ma : tra and the shortened *ai* and *au* and *m* are produced at the same part of the vocal organs as *ai, au* and *m* respectively, but vary only in their quantity.[42]

6.2. CM's criticism seems valid because uyirmey is nothing but a combination of vowel and consonant having separate places of articulation. If we treat uyirmey or aḷapeṭai as ca : rpeḷuttu then we should also have to treat long vowels as ca : rpeḷuttu.

6.3. In writing uyirmey is formed out of a consonant which drops its dot and gives place to a vowel. It gets one ma : tra only

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42. Sastri, p. 16.

When it is pronounced, the contoid preceds the vocoid.[43] Nan. s. 91 and 92 deal with aḷapeṭai. A short vowel is added to its preceding long vowel for elongation in word-initial, medial and final positions. It has three ma : tra. Tol. clearly states that no sound will have 3 ma : tras (S. 5). /ṅ, ñ, ṇ, n m, v, y, l, ḷ and a : ytam/ will get more ma : tras for lengthening the sounds, *ai* and *au* reduce their ma : tras from 2 to 1 when they occur in word medial and final positions (nan.s.95. /*m*/ becomes short before /*n, n, v*/ (S.96). It will have ¼ ma : tra as a : ytakkurukkam.

6.4. No rigorous method is adopted by the grammarians and commentators to identify and to enumerate the ca : rpreḷuttu. Therefore we find a difference in the number of ca : rpeḷuttu. While nannu : la : r counts all the occurrences of car : peḷuttu for giving the total number of them, other count only the units. (vide Chart). Thus far we have only presented a brief history of Ca : rpeḷuttu needing a still further elaborately critical study which alone can explain the exact role played by these sounds in Tamil language. We hope that we would be able also to present such a study in the near future.*

43. Nan., s. 89.

* The present paper is a revised version of a paper read at the seminar on grammatical theories in Tamil held at Annamalai University in 1966.

CHANGE OF OIA 5TH. CONJ.>9TH. CONJ. IN PĀLĪ

By Sri Ravi Prakash*

The M.I.A. period forms a crucial period in the history of Indo-Āryan. At this very juncture, the O.I.A. system was changed and the new system started and this period is known as early M.I.A. In early M.I.A., we assign the following dialects:

1. Aśokan Prākṛts as seen in the inscriptions of Aśoka.
2. Pālī – in the canonical and non-canonical literature of the Hīnayāna Buddhists.
3. Ardhamāgadhī as found in the canons of the Śvetāmbara Jains.
4. Paiśācī in the fragments of Aśvaghoṣa.

This phenomena of the change of Skt. 5th>9th. conj. is very frequent in Pālī and can be attested only in the early period of Pālī literature. A few relic forms are found in vogue in the later works of Pālī, but these forms seem to be artificially used by the later writers. Gieger[1] enumerates a few forms of the O.I.A. 5th. and 8th. Conj. as well (*Śaknoti* 5, *prāpnuyāt* 5, *manoti* 8, etc.) which have gone over to the ninth conj. in Pālī. Edgerton[2] also refers to this very fact and has given no explanation for the change. He, however, points out that *munāti* and *tunāti* have been transferred from the 8th. (according to him, which belonged to this conj. originally), to the 9th. in M.I.A., since both forms had a base morpheme in–no in Skt. and were quite identical with the 5th. Conj. which had a homophonous –no base suffix. The change of –no> –nā can not be assigned as a phonetic change. Hence, we presume that it must have its origin in some analogical creation. The examples of such changes are:

3 Sg. Skt. *Cinoti* (*Vicināti. P*), Skt. *dhunoti* (*dhunāti. P*) Skt. *Sṛṇoti.* (*Sunāti* P.), *Skt. āpnoti.* (*pāpunāti* P), 2 Sg. Skt. *Śṛṇosi*

* Sanskrit Dictionary Department, Deccan College, Poona–6.

1. Geiger 147, 149.
2. Edgerton *Buddhist Hybrid Skt. Grammar,* 28.15.

(*Suṇāsi* P), I Sg. Skt. *Sṛṇomi* (*Suṇāmi* P), Skt. *āpnomi* (*pāpuṇāmi* P). We postulate the following causes for this change. In Cl. Skt. itself a similar alternation between the 5th. and 9th. conj. is seen in case of the roots √dhu *dhunoti* ~ *dhunāti* and √Stṛ *Stṛṇoti* ~ *stṛṇāti*. But we do not attest such types of alternation in Pālī and this Free variation in Skt. is likely to lead the growth of *–nā* forms in Pālī.

(2) It is just possible that the distinction between the 5th. and 9th. conj. was no more felt in numerous forms of these roots in Pālī. The rootes of both the conjugation i.e. 5th. and 9th. are alike e.g. √*ci* (5 u Skt) Pālī *Cineyya,* √*krī* (9u Skt.) Pālī *Kiṇeyya.* Due to the merger of these forms, it is natural that both were considered as belonging to the same type and their base forms with *–nā* were extended to verbs.*

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* Conj=Conjugation, P=Pālī, Skt.=Sanskrit.

संस्कृत भाषा में प्रयुक्त कुछ प्राचीनतम विदेशी शब्द

डा० भोलानाथ तिवारी†

अनेक भारतीय पंडितों के न मानने के बावजूद आधुनिक विद्वान् इस सम्बन्ध में प्राय: एकमत हैं कि आर्य भारत में कहीं बाहर से आए। भारोपीय परिवार के मूल निवासी, जिन्हें संस्कृत 'वीर', आयरिस 'फ़ेर', लैटिन 'उइर' तथा जर्मन 'वेर' आदि के आधार पर विरोस* की संज्ञा दी गई है, एक साथ कहाँ रहते थे, कहना कठिन है। भाषाशास्त्र, प्राचीन भूगोल, पुरातत्त्व, प्राचीन जलवायुविज्ञान तथा ज्योतिष आदि के आधार पर, इस प्रसंग में अनेक मत प्रकट किए गये हैं। यों मध्य एशिया वाला पुराना मत आजकल फिर कुछ अधिक मान्य माना जा रहा है, जिसे नवीन एवं अत्यन्त प्रौढ़ भाषिक प्रमाणों के आधार पर ब्रान्देन्स्ताइन ने प्रस्तुत किया है।[१]

मूल स्थान चाहे जो भी रहा हो, भाषिक समानताओं से यह बात स्पष्ट है कि कभी संस्कृत, अवेस्ती, ग्रीक आदि विभिन्न भारोपीय भाषाओं के प्रयोक्ता एक साथ रहते थे, तथा इनके शब्द-समूह से अन्य भाषा-परिवारों के शब्द-समूह की तुलना के आधार पर यह भी अनुमान लगता है कि ये लोग अन्य परिवार के भाषा-भाषियों के सम्पर्क में भी आए थे, और उनसे इनका शब्दों का आदान-प्रदान भी हुआ था।

सुमेरी शब्द—सुमेरी लोग विश्व के प्राचीनतम सभ्य लोगों में हैं। कुछ विद्वानों के अनुसार तो इनकी सभ्यता ७००० ई० पू० में ही पर्याप्त विकसित हो चुकी थी।[२] इनका केन्द्र दजला-फरात की घाटी में था। सुमेरी लोग उन प्राचीनतम लोगों में से एक थे जिनके सम्पर्क में भारोपीय लोग आए। सुमेरी गाय-बैल से परिचित थे, किन्तु उनके सम्पर्क में आने के पूर्व तक भारोपीय इनसे परिचित न थे। कदाचित सुमेरियो से ही भारोपीयों ने गाय-बैल का उपयोग सीखा। स्वभावत: इसके साथ भारोपीयों ने गाय-बैल का द्योतक शब्द भी सुमेरियों से ग्रहण किया। गाय-बैल के लिए प्राचीन सुमेरी शब्द 'गुद्' था, जो बाद में 'द्' ध्वनि के लोप से 'गु' रह गया था। यह शब्द मूल भारोपीय भाषा में आकर *ग्वाउ हुआ जिससे संस्कृत 'गौ', ग्रीक 'बोउस', लैटिन 'बोस', केल्टिक 'बो', प्राचीन उच्च जर्मन 'कुवो', अँग्रेजी 'काउ', आर्मेनियन 'कोउ', प्राचीन रूसी 'गोवे', फ़ारसी 'गाव' तथा लेटिश 'गुओउस' आदि विकसित हुए हैं। इस प्रकार आर्य संस्कृति का एक प्रमुख शब्द 'गौ' मूलत: अपना न होकर सुमेरियों का है।

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† ई ४।२३ मॉडल टाउन, दिल्ली।

1. Die erste indogermanische wanderung, 1936.

२. द एनसाइक्लोपीडिया अमेरिकाना, १९४४, खंड २६, पृ० १२।

संस्कृत 'परशु' या ग्रीक 'पेलेकुस' इस प्रकार का दूसरा शब्द है। मूलतः यह शब्द सुमेरी 'बलग' (कुल्हाड़ी) था। वहाँ से यह अक्कदी भाषा में आया जहाँ इसे हम 'पिलक्कु' (ब 7 प; ग 7 क) रूप में पाते हैं। अक्कदी से यह भारोपीय मूल भाषा में आया जहाँ इसका सम्भावित रूप *"पेलेकु" है। ग्रीक पेलेकुस तथा संस्कृत 'परशु' इसी से सम्बन्धित हैं।

तीसरा सुमेरी शब्द 'उरुदु' (=ताँबा) है। इसे भी भारोपीय लोगों ने सुमेरियों से लिया। इसके पूर्व, भारोपीय लोग ताँबे के प्रयोग से अपरिचित थे। मूल भारोपीय भाषा में इस शब्द का रूप *उरुध था, जो बाद में *रउधु, *रोधु, *रोध हो गया। इससे संस्कृत में कई शब्द बने। 'रोध' का अर्थ ताँबा के अतिरिक्त ताँबे के रंग के आधार पर 'लाल' या अन्य 'लालवस्तु' भी हो गया। अंग्रेजी रेड, जर्मन 'रॉट' 'डच रूड' तथा संस्कृत 'रुधिर' इस 'रोध' से ही विकसित हुए हैं। हिन्दी शब्द 'लोहू' प्रायः संस्कृत 'रुधिर से विकसित माना जाता है, किन्तु मेरे विचार में प्राचीन भारोपीय शब्द *रोधु के स्वार्थेप्रत्यय क-युक्त रूप *रोधुक (र 7 ल; ध 7 ह; लोहुकं 7 लोहुअ 7 लोहू) से ही इसका विकास हुआ है। संस्कृत 'लोह' भी मूलतः *रोध ही है। इस प्रकार संस्कृत 'रुधिर' एवं 'लोह' तथा हिन्दी 'लोहा' 'लोहू' मूलतः सुमेरी शब्द हैं।

अंतिम सुमेरी शब्द 'अस्तेर' (=तारा) है। सुमेरी लोग ज्योतिष में बहुत बढ़े-चढ़े थे। इस क्षेत्र में इन्होंने विश्व की अनेक संस्कृतियों को प्रभावित किया। इस प्रभाव के फलस्वरूप ही सुमेरी 'अस्तेर' शब्द भारोपीय भाषाओं में आया जो अंग्रेजी 'स्टार', लैटिन 'स्तेल्ला', जर्मन 'स्टर्न', ऐंग्लोसैक्सन 'स्टेओरा', फारसी 'सितारः' तथा संस्कृत 'तारा' आदि रूपों में मिलता है।

सुमेरी से मूल भारोपीय भाषा ने और भी कुछ शब्द ग्रहण किए, किन्तु वे शब्द संस्कृत में नहीं मिलते, अतः यहाँ उनकी चर्चा नहीं की जा रही है।

एजिअन शब्द—प्राचीनकाल में एजिअन संस्कृति यूरोप की सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण संस्कृति थी। इसका केन्द्र क्रीट था। साथ ही यह आस-पास के द्वीपों तथा यूरोपीय महाद्वीप के समीपवर्ती कुछ अन्य क्षेत्रों में भी फैली हुई थी। सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से यूरोप में इसका लगभग वही स्थान है, जो भारत में आस्ट्रिक संस्कृति का है। पूरी योरपीय संस्कृति के मूलभूत उपादानों पर इसकी बड़ी गहरी छाप है। यूनान तथा उसके आस-पास के भौगोलिक नामों में अनेक इसकी देन हैं। इस संस्कृति का काल मोटे रूप से ३००० ई० पू० से ११०० ई० पू० तक माना जाता है। मूल भारोपीय भाषा ने एजिअन से भी कुछ शब्द लिए, जिनमें एक के सम्बन्ध में कुछ निश्चय के साथ कहा जा सकता है। यह शब्द है मूल भारोपीय *आयोस या *अयेस, जो सं० 'अयस्' (प्रारम्भ में इसका अर्थ ताँबा था, बाद में यह 'लोहा' या 'अच्छा लोहा' (इस्पात) के लिए प्रयुक्त होने लगा), अवेस्ती, 'अयह्', लैटिन 'अयेस्' (=ताँबा), गॉथिक 'अइज़' आदि रूपों में मिलता है। यह *आयोस या *अयेस मूलतः एजिअन 'अलस्य' है। यह बात भी विचित्र है कि 'अलस्य' वस्तुतः एजिअन या उसके एक भाग का नाम था,

जहाँ ताँबा बहुत होता था। कारपेंटियर[3] तथा पोकोर्नी[4] का तो अनुमान है कि साइप्रस (जो प्राचीन काल में ताँबे के लिए बहुत प्रसिद्ध था) का ही पुराना नाम 'अलस्य' था। अर्थात् जैसे 'मिस्र' के आधार पर 'मिस्री', 'सूरत' से 'सुर्ती', या 'किशमिश' से 'किशमिश' आदि नाम पड़े हैं, उसी प्रकार 'अलस्य' में मिलनेवाला ताँबा (अलस्य) कदाचित् कम सफाई के कारण विशेष लाल न होता था। सुमेरी ताँबा (रोध) उसकी तुलना में अधिक साफ, अतः अधिक लाल होता था। ये दोनों ही प्रकार के ताँबे भारोपीय लोगों को क्रमशः उपर्युक्त संस्कृतियों से मिले थे।

यूराली शब्द—यूराली भाषा-परिवार की भाषाओं से भी भारोपीय भाषा-भाषियों का कभी संपर्क हुआ था। किन्तु यह संपर्क कदाचित् परवर्ती काल में हुआ, और विशेषतः भारोपीय परिवार की पूर्वी शाखासे हुआ, जिसमें भारत-ईरानी आती हैं। यूराली तथा भारत-ईरानी का संपर्क कदाचित् उपर्युक्त की तुलना में बहुत अधिक था। इसी कारण शब्दों का आदान-प्रदान भी अपेक्षाकृत बहुत अधिक हुआ। दोनों परिवारों के कुछ उल्लेख्य समान शब्द नीचे दिए जाते हैं :

यूराली	भारोपीय
१—फ़िनिश 'मेते' (मधु)	संस्कृत 'मधु', ग्रीक 'मेधु', रूसी 'म्योत'
२—फिनिश 'वेते' (पानी) इस्तो० 'वेसि'	अँग्रेजी 'वाटर,' गॉथिक 'वाटो', संस्कृत 'उदक', रूसी 'वदा'
३—फिनिश 'तोरन' (तृण)	संस्कृत 'तृण'
४—१०० के लिए सत, सात, शदो, सो, सु, शु आदि	संस्कृत 'शत', फा० 'सद', रूसी 'स्तो', हि० 'सौ' आदि
५—मगियार 'आर्वं' (परित्यक्त-बच्चा), फिनिश 'ओर्वो'	संस्कृत 'अर्भं'
६—मगियार 'हब' (झाग)	संस्कृत 'कफ', फा० 'कफ़', अंग्रेजी 'कफ़'
७—फिनिश 'कुओप्प' (गड्ढा)	संस्कृत 'कूप'
८—मगियार 'अरन्य' (सोना) वोगुल 'सुरेङ' 'सरेङ' मोर्दविन 'सिरङे; 'ज़िरयन,' वोतयक 'जरङी'	संस्कृत 'हिरण्य,' अवेस्ता 'ज़रन्य,' फा० 'ज़र'

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३. बुलेटिन ऑव् द स्कूल ऑव् ओरियंटल स्टडीज़, लन्दन इन्स्टीट्यूट, खंड ४, पृष्ठ १५६।

४. द चाइल्ड, आर्यन्ज़, प्रथम संस्करण, पृष्ठ ८७।

यूराली	भारोपीय
९--मगियार 'स्ज़िलन्क', फिनिश 'सले'	संस्कृत 'शलाका'
१०--मोर्दविन 'अज़ोर' (बड़ा) इस्तोनियन 'सूर', वोतयक 'उज़िर'	सं० 'असुर', अवेस्ता 'अहुर'
११--फिनिश 'वसर' (हथौड़ा), मोर्दविन 'उज़र', इस्तोनियन 'वसर'	संस्कृत 'वज्र', अवेस्ता 'वजर' (गदा)
१२--फिनिश 'पोर्सस', इस्तोनियन 'पोर्सस' (छोटा सूअर)	लैटिन 'पोर्कस', अंग्रेजी 'पोर्क'
१३—फिनिश 'ओरस', 'वरस' (सूअर)	संस्कृत 'वाराह', अवेस्ता 'वराज़'
१४--मगियार 'ओस्तोर' (कोड़ा), इस्तोनियन 'ओता', 'ओदा' (जैवलिन)	संस्कृत 'अस्त्र', अवेस्ता 'अश्त्रा'
१५—मगियार 'सोर' (मदिरा) वोतयक 'सुर', वोगुल 'सोर'	संस्कृत 'सुरा', अवेस्ता 'हुरा'
१६—मोर्दविन 'सेद' (पुल), इस्तोनियन 'सिल्द'	संस्कृत 'सेतु', अवेस्ता 'अएतु'
१७--मोर्दविन 'वर्गस', ज़िरिअन 'वोर्कस'	संस्कृत 'वृक', अवेस्ता 'वह्रक'
१८—फ़िनिश 'कल' (मछली), इस्तोनियन 'कला'	अवेस्ता 'कर', प्रशन 'कलिस', अंग्रेजी 'ह्वेल', उच्च जर्मन 'वल'
१९—वोगुल 'तास' (अजनबी)	संस्कृत 'दास'
२०--मोर्दविन 'मेक्श' (मधुमक्खी), इस्तोनियन 'मेसि' (मधु), मगियार 'मेज' (शहद)	संस्कृत 'मक्षिका' अवेस्ता 'मख्शी'
२१- इस्तोनियन 'सोक्क' (बकरा), मोर्दविन 'शव' (बकरा)	संस्कृत 'छाग'
२२—फ़िनिश 'सिइक-नेन' (टूँड़), मोर्दविन 'शुव'	सं० शूक

इन दोनों परिवारों की भाषाओं में इतना अधिक शब्द-साम्य संयोगतः नहीं हो सकता। स्पष्ट ही यह आपसी लेन-देन का परिणाम है। सभी बातों पर विचार करने पर यह अनुमान लगता है कि इनमें अधिकांश शब्द तो ऐसे हैं, जो मूलतः भारोपीय के हैं, और यूराली में गृहीत हैं, किन्तु, 'मक्षिका,' 'शूक,' 'छाग', 'कफ', 'कूप', 'शलाका',

'तृण,' 'हिरण्य' तथा 'वाराह' मूलतः यूराली परिवार के हैं, अर्थात् संस्कृत आदि में ये अपने शब्द न होकर विदेशी हैं।

इस प्रसंग में 'एक' शब्द भी विचारणीय है। संख्यावाचक शब्दों में २ से १० तक, २०, ३० आदि तथा 'सौ' ऐसे हैं, जो भारोपीय परिवार की अधिकांश भाषाओं में बहुत कुछ समानता रखते हैं। जैसे संस्कृत 'द्व', ग्रीक 'दुव', लैटिन 'दुओ', अवेस्ता 'द्वा', रूसी 'द्वा', अंग्रेजी 'टू', फारसी 'दू', या संस्कृत 'सप्त,' अवेस्ता 'हफ़्त', लैटिन 'सेप्तम', 'गॉथिक' 'सिबुन', अँग्रेजी 'सेवन' आदि; किन्तु 'एक' में ऐसी बात नहीं है। ग्रीक 'ओइनोस', लैटिन 'उनुस', जर्मन 'आइन', रूसी 'अदिन', अँग्रेजी 'वन', वेल्स अन,' ऐंग्लो-सैक्सन 'ऐन' या डच, आइरिश, गॉथिक, लिथुआनियन, आइसलैंडिक, इतालवी, फ्रांसीसी, रूमानियन, प्रशन, चर्च स्लाव, स्वेडिश, लेटिश, डेनिश, ब्रीटन आदि सभी में –न– ध्वनि है, जब कि केवल फ़ारसी 'यक', संस्कृत 'एक' एवं हित्री 'आइक' में –क– ध्वनि है। कुछ लोगों ने *ओइ–को' की कल्पना की है, किन्तु मुझे लगता है कि 'एक' भी कदाचित् यूराली की ही देन है। यूराल की भाषाओं में 'एक' के लिए शब्द ध्वन्यात्मक दृष्टि से 'एक' से बहुत दूर नहीं हैं।

वोगुल	—	'अक'
हुंगेरियन	—	'एगी'
ओतियक	—	'ओग'
समोइएदे	—	'ओकुर'
इस्तोनियन	—	'उक्स'
फिनिश	—	'उक्सी', 'यक्सी'

अनेक विद्वान् द्रविड़ परिवार को भी यूराली से संबद्ध मानते हैं,[६] और उसमें भी –क– वाले शब्द एक के लिए (पारजी, 'ओक', तेलुगु 'ओका') हैं। जैसा कि ऊपर की तुलनात्मक सूची में संकेतिक है, १०० के लिए शब्द यूराली में भारोपीय परिवार से गया है। इस प्रकार भारोपीय ने १०० के लिए शब्द दिया है तथा १ के लिए लिया है। यद्यपि यह लेना बहुत ही असाधारण एवं आश्चर्यजनक है।

गोधूम : एक विवादास्पद शब्द—मूल योरपीय लोग 'जौ' से परिचित थे। इसके लिए मूल शब्द *येवो था, जिससे सं० 'यव', अवेस्ता 'यव', लिथुआनियन 'जवई', ग्रीक 'जेअ' आदि शब्द विकसित हुए हैं। भारोपीय परिवार की मुख्य भाषाओं में 'गेहूँ' के

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५. ए डिक्शनरी ऑव् सेलेक्टेड सिनॉनिम्ज़ इन द प्रिंसिपल इंडोयूरोपियन लैंग्वेजेज़—सी० डी० बक, प्रथम संस्करण, पृ० ९३७

६. द्रष्टव्य हैं : फ़ाउण्डेशन ऑव लैंग्वेज—ग्रे, दूसरा संस्करण, पृ० ३८८; ओरिजिन ऐंड स्प्रेड ऑव द तामिल्स—दिक्षितार, पृ० ५ (प्रथम संस्करण); जर्नल ऑव् द अमेरिकन ओरिएंटल सोसाइटी, भाग ७, पृ० २७२ तथा भाग ६५, पृ० ५९; द आर्यन्ज—चाइल्ड (प्रथम संस्करण) पृ० ८९ आदि।

लिए समान शब्द नहीं हैं, अतः ऐसी संभावना है कि इस परिवार से इस अनाज का परिचय अधिक पुराना नहीं है। धार्मिक कृत्यों में 'जौ' का महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान तथा गेहूँ का पूर्ण वहिष्कार भी इसी बात का संकेत करता है। उल्लेख्य है कि अक्षत के रूप में चावल का धार्मिक महत्त्व आर्य-परम्परा का न होकर आर्येतर भारतीय-परम्परा का प्रभाव मात्र है। 'गेहूँ' के लिए समान शब्द केवल भारत-ईरानी शाखा में हैं (संस्कृत 'गोघूम', अवेस्ता 'गन्तुम', फारसी 'गन्दुम') जिसका आशय यह हुआ कि यह शाखा जब अन्यों से अलग हो गई तो इसका 'गेहूँ' से परिचय हुआ। एक संभावना यह है कि मूल शाखा से अलग होकर ये लोग असीरियों के सम्पर्क में आए और उन्हीं के माध्यम से ये गेहूँ से परिचित हुए। असीरी भाषा में 'गेहूँ' के लिए 'शैउम' शब्द है। सम्भव है 'गोघूम' 'गन्तुम' आदि उसी से सम्बद्ध हो। इस संबंध में मेरा एक अपना अनुमान भी है। सम्भव है भारत-ईरानी शाखा को जङ्गली गेहूँ घास के रूप में मिला हो, और आरम्भ में इसे सुखाकर मच्छर आदि से अपनी गो-सम्पत्ति को बचाने के लिए ये धुवाँ करते रहे हों एवं इसी कारण इसे 'गो धूम' कहा गया हो। इसके अन्त की उपयोगिता का पता उन्हें कदाचित् बाद में चला। आज भी गाँवों में बरसात में पशुओं को मच्छर से बचाने के लिए लोग घास सुलगाकर धुआँ करते हैं। पाणिनीय पण्डित 'गोघूम' की व्युत्पत्ति 'गुध् + ऊम्' से मानते हैं। 'गुध्' धातु का अर्थ रोकना, खेलना, लपेटना, घेरना आदि है। इस प्रकार पाणिनीय व्युत्पत्ति से इसका अर्थ स्पष्ट नहीं होता। ऐसी स्थिति में या तो यह विदेशी शब्द है या गो + धूम से बना शब्द है।

OUR CONTRIBUTORS PLEASE!

Research Papers for publication in the *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* should be typed on one side of paper in double space, leaving sufficient margin on the left-hand side. Sheets should be numbered at the top right-hand corner. Foot-notes should be numbered consecutively. The papers must give an evidence of research by discovery of new facts or by that of new relationship of known facts. The papers should be completely ready for the press.

All the titles of books and Journals as well as important Sanskrit or non-English words and Sanskrit or non-English quotations (if they are written in the Roman script) should be underlined and properly given diacritical marks as given below. Only popular proper names and common Sanskrit words should be left unmarked. Titles and places of publication or edition of books and Journals, when referred to for the first time in a paper, should be given in full. Thereafter, their abbreviations should be used. Titles of papers or smaller pieces should ordinarily be given within inverted commas except when some kind of prominence or importance is to be attached to them and may then be simply underlined.

The address of the author should be given as foot-note at the bottom of the first page.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION INTO ROMAN

अ	a	ं	ṁ	ड्	ḍ	र्	r
आ	ā	ः	ḥ	ढ्	ḍh	ल्	l
इ	i	क्	k	ण्	ṇ	व्	v
ई	ī	ख्	kh	त्	t	श्	ś
उ	u	ग्	g	थ्	th	ष्	ṣ
ऊ	ū	घ्	gh	द्	d	स्	s
ऋ	ṛ	ङ्	ṅ	ध्	dh	ह्	h
ॠ	ṝ	च्	c	न्	n	क्ष्	kṣ
ऌ	ḷ	छ्	ch	प्	p	त्र्	tr
ॡ	ḹ	ज्	j	फ्	ph	ज्ञ्	jñ
ए	e	झ्	jh	ब्	b	ळ्	ḻ
ऐ	ai	ञ	ñ	भ्	bh		
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